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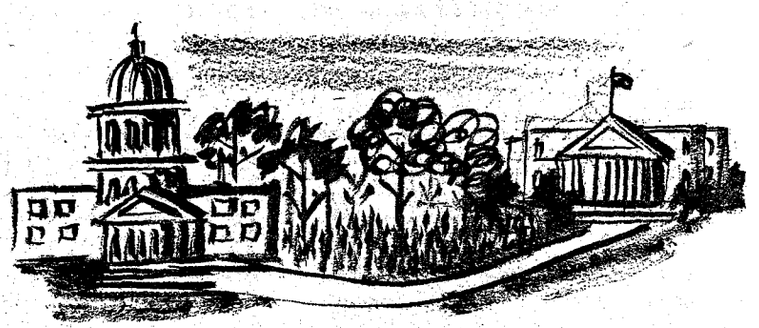

Showdown in Washington

By THE EDITORS

THE Congressional uprising over President Roosevelt's veto of the tax bill should alarm all Americans who are trying to keep their eye on the war and the peace. It is clear that far more is at issue here than a difference over a revenue measure or over presidential etiquette. This was the second veto within a few days and the third challenging message within a month, beginning with Mr. Roosevelt's attack on the "states' rights" soldiers' vote bill as a fraud. A serious impasse has been reached which threatens gravely to compromise at home the military and political victories that have been won abroad. This impasse is the culmination of a long series of battles in which the President has found ranged against him a coalition of Republican reactionaries and Democratic poll-taxers who, as the military defeat of Hitlerism has become more certain, have grown bolder in their efforts to weaken the home front. And it is a sad reflection on the present Congress that the majority of its members in both houses—and last week even the administration leader in the Senate—have fallen increasingly under the spell of this dangerous junta.

There is no doubt that neither on the soldiers' vote nor subsidies nor taxes does Congress reflect the sentiment of the country or even the more responsible sections of big business. The fact that such publications as the New York *Times* and the Republican *Herald Tribune*, as well as Wendell Willkie, though they attack the President for narrow, partisan considerations, actually agree with his fundamental criticism of the tax bill's inadequacy, shows how far the congressional majority is from representing any substantial section of public opinion. Beneath the flareup over taxes and the fight over the soldiers' vote and subsidies lies the deeper issue: will the present Congress and its successor act to enable our country to meet the gigantic responsibilities for the war and the peace that we assumed at the Moscow and Teheran conferences? The present Congress is evidently determined that its answer shall be in the negative. As for its successor, that is something for the people to decide between now and November 7.

It is when the issue is clearly understood in terms of the struggle between the supporters and subverters of Teheran, with all of its vast implications for the future, that certain criticisms of President Roosevelt, even if valid, appear in their true picayune proportions. Though we regard Wendell Willkie's criticism as false and demagogic, let us assume for the sake of argument that he is right in saying that the Congressional action on the tax bill reflects popular resentment over years of administration "waste" and "extravagance." Mr. Willkie at the same time manages to carry a lot of water on the other shoulder too by saying that the administration tax proposals were actually not stiff enough. But the alleged "waste" and "extravagance" occurred in the pre-war past, while what Congress has done about the soldiers' vote, subsidies, and taxes affects the present and the future. Is Mr. Willkie seriously proposing and do the conservative business interests whose views he reflects seriously propose to determine war policy and peace policy on the basis of their differences with the administration before the war?

OR CONSIDER Walter Lippmann's column of February 26. Hyperopia is the opposite of myopia and is that defect of the eye which results in better vision for distant objects than for near ones. Mr. Lippmann is an example of political hyperopia. We have often admired his penetrating comments on foreign affairs where the realities of a situation, even when they run counter to conservative prejudices, usually do not escape him for long. But when he turns to domestic questions Mr. Lippmann loses his touch. He tends to view the solution of all problems in terms of changes in personnel. Even, however, where such changes are desirable, this is an approach that moves on the surface of things. Thus Mr. Lippmann finds that the outbreak over the tax bill "stems directly from Mr. Roosevelt's refusal to reorganize his cabinet." There is no one in the Treasury Department, he maintains, who speaks with authority on war finance—neither Secretary Morgenthau nor the department's general counsel, Randolph Paul; therefore Congress will not listen to them. "If the President wants a new tax bill, he

(*Continued on page 26*)

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Behind the Polish Problem

By NIKOLAI BALTISKY

oscow (via Inter-Continent News).

N VAIN have the Polish reactionaries tried to prove that in 1939 the Red Army allegedly forced upon the people the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia the decision to join the Soviet nion. At that time the Polish government had disintegrated, even before the ed Army's arrival; it had fled and abanoned the country to the German invaders. ad the Soviet government not intervened sending the Red Army to aid the fraernal peoples of the Western Ukraine and yelorussia, these regions would have been nsumed by Hitler.

Ninety-three percent of the electorate ıd participated in the election of the Peoe's Assembly of Western Ukraine 4,433,997 out of a total of 4,766,275); ıd in Western Byelorussia, 2,672,280 ut of a total of 2,763,191. The question f the separation of the peoples of these egions from Poland and their reunion with ıeir kinsmen in the Soviet republics was ıe subject of lively discussions at numerous ıeetings of workers, peasants, and intelctuals. The deputies elected unanimously ecided to petition the Supreme Soviet to ıcorporate their territories in the USSR. Thus the decisions of the People's Assemlies of the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia, and also the decisions of the fth special session of the USSR's Supreme oviet, remain inviolable.

There remains only the question of the nal line of the Soviet-Polish border. On his particular point, the Soviet government sued a statement on Jan. 11, 1944, to he effect that it does not consider the oviet-Polish frontier of 1939 unchangeble, and that by agreement with the Soviet Jnion districts with predominantly Polish opulation might be transferred to Poland. The Soviet government's statement indiated that the Soviet-Polish border could ass approximately along the Curzon Line pproved in 1919 by the Supreme Council f the Allied Powers. This Soviet proposal onstitutes a new and striking manifestaion of the democratic national policy of the oviet government—a policy constantly uided by the recognition of the right of ıations to self-determination and friendly ollaboration between peoples.

IN THE autumn of 1939, there could be no question of the separation of districts with a predominantly Polish population rom the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia, which had passed over to the USSR. Their separation at that time would ıave meant handing them over for mutilaion by the Hitlerites; and furthermore, even the majority of the Polish population of these districts did not desire such separation at that time. But it is a different matter today when there are real prospects for the liberation and regeneration of Poland. Now the question of shifting these districts to Poland can be raised. And in its statement of January 11 the Soviet government provides for the extension of the western borders of Poland by restoration to Poland of historically Polish territories seized earlier by Germany and without which it is impossible to unite the entire Polish people in its own state.

Clearly, agreement on the final establishment of the Soviet-Polish frontier on the basis of the Soviet government's proposals would have created exceptionally favorable conditions for a firm and lasting friendship between the Polish people and the neighboring Ukrainian and Byelorussian peoples. Friction over territorial problems would have disappeared once and for all. Nothing would prevent the peoples of Poland and the Soviet Union immediately joining forces in the struggle against the common enemy as demanded by the interests of both countries and the common cause of all the Allies. It is entirely clear that if the present Polish government wanted to achieve a final settlement of the questions under dispute, if it really aspired to a joint struggle against the Germans, then it would without a moment's hesitation declare its readiness to accept the proposals of the Soviet government.

The Polish government, however, wants neither one nor the other. The immediate motives guiding it are obvious: it defends the material interests of the big "frontier" landlords such as the Radziwills, Potockis, and others. It places the selfish interests of a handful of such people over the state interests of Poland—a fact revealed by the foreign press. But this does not adequately explain the irreconcilable position of the Polish emigre government and its followers.

THE roots of the evil lie deeper. The Polish reactionaries are interested in an endless continuation of the dispute with the Soviet Union. Without this there is nothing left with which to keep together their political combinations and coalitions necessary for the preservation of power in their hands. And this is far more important to them than the national interests of Poland. It is a very characteristic fact that during 1943, when the historic victories of the Red Army in Stalingrad, the North Caucasus, and the Don were arousing tremendous admiration from all freedom-loving peoples, the underground organs of the Pilsudskiites close to the Polish emigre government started an anti-Soviet campaign. *Panstwo Polske* wrote, for example, that "The necessary condition both for our victory and our very existence is at least the weakening if not the defeat of Russia."

At a time when the diplomats of the emigre government speak merely of preserving the frontiers established by the Riga agreement of 1920, the official organ of the representatives of this government in Poland, *Rzeoz Pospolita*, states "The Eastern borderline established by the Riga agreement represents the minimum of our aspirations in the East." *Polska Walci*, close to the Polish government in London, wrote in October 1942, "Naturally the object of the expansion of Polish creative forces in Eastern Europe is the space between the Polish frontier and ethnographic Russia, that is, the Baltics, the Black Sea divide and Ukrainian and Byelorussian territories outside Polish confines in particular."

These are but a few examples of many such brazen attacks. They testify, first, that there is not only a German but also a Polish *"drang nach Osten."* And, secondly, they testify that even in their present position of remaining actually without any state power, the Polish gentry is unable to restrain itself from proclaiming its insane imperialism. The Polish gentry doesn't even want to hear of the Curzon Line. Indeed even the Riga agreement frontiers are acceptable to them only as representing a minimum of their aims of conquest in the East. And apart from this they feel that any final solution of questions between Poland and the USSR would immediately transform their political platform and with it themselves, into useless rubbish.

The facts also show that every time the question arises of practical participation by the followers of the Polish emigre government in active, armed struggle against the Germans, this government, contrary to its own verbal assurances, backs out on one or another pretext. Such was the case in 1941 and 1942. The Soviet government gave the Polish government the opportunity to form and train a Polish army in the USSR to act together with the Red Army and granted it, interest free, a loan for this purpose. In June 1942, however, it became obvious that the Polish army had no intention of fighting the Hitlerites on the Soviet-German front. It is also known that along with their persistently passive attitude towards the war against Germany, many representatives of the Polish government on Soviet territory, under the guise of relief activities for Polish citizens, showed considerable energy in organizing espionage against the USSR and in spreading defeatist and provocative rumors. Finally, in the spring of 1943, the Polish emigre government in its anti-Soviet frenzy had fallen

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so low as to aid the Hitlerites in their foul campaign about the Katyn Forest murders.

IN POLAND proper the followers of the emigre government, according to their own assertions, have long been ready for armed struggle against the German invaders but were refraining from this struggle until they received a signal from London. From London, however, came not appeals for struggle but warnings by "Commander-in-Chief" Sosnkowski and his comrades-in-arms that "You must preserve tranquillity." Fortunately, Poland's true patriots, as in other occupied countries, rejected these treacherous appeals and are waging heroic battles against the Germans. The emigre government has not only hampered uprisings but all forms of fighting the Germans. And the absence of such struggle, as shown by experience, involves no smaller sacrifices than would have been demanded by attacks which disorganize the rear of the German army.

With regard to Hitler's active enemies —Poland's patriotic guerrillas—the followers of the emigre government do not confine themselves to passive waiting but conduct a campaign of slander against the patriotic guerrillas, and whenever possible, resort to bloody violence. In August 1943, the followers of the London government committed a brutal act of extermination against the Kilinsky detachment in Poland. In the Janowo district of the Lublin region, this detachment encountered a government unit armed with machine guns under the command of Polish officers. During negotiations for a joint struggle against the invaders, the government unit treacherously attacked, encircled, and machine-gunned the Kilinsky detachment. The survivors were disarmed, bound, and brutally murdered with axes—thirty men in all. Only one escaped.

It is noteworthy that in the Polish Information Bulletin of September 2 last there is reported "the liquidation of bandits in the district Janowo Lublinski." That is what General Sosnkowski's agents are capable of. The attacks carried out by guerrilla followers of the emigre government against the patriotic guerrillas who have been executing some Polish quislings have been especially bloody. Polish newspapers sometimes assert that the Germans allegedly found no traitors among Poles. This is an obvious lie. They found quite a number of quislings among the closest friends of many reactionary leaders of the Polish emigres, in particular among persons close to the Raczkiewicz-Sosnkowski camp. Such open traitors are, for example, the former premier of the Sanacia government of 1934; the founder of the Bereza Kartuzska Camp, Leon Kozlowski; the ex-Polish ambassador to Berlin, Vysocki; the big landowner and former Pilsudskiite dignitary, Count Roniker, whom the Germans appointed chairman of the "Chief Regency Council" of the gover[illegible] general aid, and a number of others.

The mood of the Polish masses suffering under the German yoke can be shown, for example, by the meetings held in May 1943, in the Opatow, Radom, Kelcem, and Krakow districts and other parts of Poland. These meetings branded the Katyn Forest murders as provocations, expressed their contempt for the Hitlerite flunkeys—Kozlowski and Vysocki—and stated that the Polish patriots did not have anything in common with the policy of the emigre government.

THE Polish chauvinists and their friends, opposed to collaboration directed against the Germans, are constantly screaming that by the USSR's desire for friendship with Poland the Soviet Union allegedly wants to restrict Poland's independence. They meet daily to counterpose the concepts of independence and friendship: either independence or friendship—as if one excludes the other.

Similar reasoning is found among reactionary circles in Britain and America connected with the Polish gentry. For example, the editor of the British magazine, *Nineteenth Century*, explains that the establishment of a friendly government in Poland according to the desires of the Russians, would mean a government "friendly to Russia and, therefore, subordinated to it." Such British and American pro-fascists are carried away by their own imperialist plans and give every encouragement to the Polish gentry to struggle for the creation of a new, hostile encirclement of the USSR. For this purpose they have brought to light Polish plans, long buried by history, for the establishment of a federation of all states [illegible] sea —from the [illegible] Black and Aegean Seas. In actual fact this is nothing but the notorious Clemenceau plan of 1919 for a strangling *cordon sanitaire* around the USSR. It is known that only German imperialism benefitted from such attempts.

The Soviet government wants the establishment of friendly relations between the USSR and Poland on the basis of firm, good-neighborly relations, and if the Polish people so desire, on the basis of an alliance for mutual aid against the Germans as the principal enemies of the Soviet Union and Poland. Why doesn't this please some reactionary circles in Britain and America? Why are the United States and Britain interested in having neighboring small and medium states as friends and not enemies, yet no one censures them for it? If the United States objects when Argentina, six thousand miles away from New York, takes an anti-American position, why must the Soviet Union reconcile itself to the fact that its immediate neighbor, Poland, takes an anti-Soviet position which, moreover, clearly contradicts Poland's own interests? For experience shows that only in alliance with the USSR can Poland reliably ensure its security and independence. The Soviet Union needs neither spheres of influence nor vassals; it needs friendly neighbors and its neighbors need its friendship. Every desire to counterpose neighboring states and hamper the development of good-neighborly relations and the lasting collaboration of neighboring countries with the USSR contradicts the task of ensuring a lasting peace and security for all freedom-loving peoples.

The article above is abridged from "War and the Working Class."

Eugene Ka

[illegible] 7 1944

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M[illegible] FUND DRIVE STATUS

To Joe North:

February 28th

The state of our fund drive is sufficiently serious to begin worrying. Here is why:

a The drive was to last four months—until May first. We have now, already, completed half of the time, and burdensome debts are now due—debts that won't wait.

b Our goal was $40,000 by the end of the year—$30,000 in cash by May 1, PLUS $10,000 in pledges to complete our total by the end of December.

c To date we have only raised $7,600—this is only 25% of OUR MAY 1 GOAL WITH 50% OF THE TIME GONE. This is a decisive point. And I say this even though in actual cash we have raised slightly more than during our last fund drive.

d OBVIOUSLY, FROM NOW ON, MONEY MUST COME IN THREE TIMES AS FAST, TO REACH OUR GOAL.

e As you know, our fund goals are based on our budgetary needs for the year—without the $30,000 the magazine just could not be published, and without the additional $10,000 it could not be properly promoted and circulation built.

f We have just now been informed that our printing cost will go up 15% starting March 1. (We are fortunate that it was not raised before, during these past twelve months.) This means an increased production cost of several thousand dollars, for which we will have to make adjustments at once.

g Our circulation continues to rise from week to week, even though we are not now engaged in a formal drive for circulation. This fact is certain proof that the people want and need NEW MASSES more today than ever before.

h This being true, I believe we must ask our readers to both worry and act with us. I feel that by putting the cold facts before our readers, the requirements of NEW MASSES will be met, despite any other commitments or needs our readers may have.

My conclusion is simply this. If we can get our readers to do a little worrying with us, and act at once by sending in the needed money, we will come through all right. But until they act—we will have to worry.

Herb Goldfrank

Business Manager

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What Our Colleges Lack

By GUY B. FALCONER

NEW MASSES, *some weeks ago, instituted a discussion of our colleges and invited teachers as well as students to air their points of view. The following article was written by an instructor in a large Eastern university. We herewith repeat our invitation to students and faculty members to participate in this discussion, knowing that the war has brought with it widespread re-examination of all our national institutions, particularly that of education. What do you think is necessary to improve America's techniques of learning?—The Editors.*

FOR a nation dedicated to the democratic sense of life and the welfare of *all* its people, there is no task more basic than the quality of the teaching which that nation's children are getting in their schools, colleges, and universities. Here lie many causes of the people's constant frustrations and sorry defeats; here, too, are the bases laid for their victories and faster advancement. The spirit that prevails in the nation's schools helps shape the spirit that will dominate the nation in its daily life. Shall it be hardness, indifference, and ruthless strife? Or shall it be a will to be thoughtful, helpful, and fair?

This *improvement of teaching* does not call at present for better buildings or new curricula; it calls primarily for improving the sense of life and purpose and vision of those who teach.

Conditions are worst in the large liberal arts colleges and universities because of the hybrid nature of these institutions. Their teaching personnel has not been chosen because they care to teach. Teachers have been chosen because they like "research" and love to putter around in books, which often means they are congenitally loath to bother about young people and the pressing problems of their time. These "scholars" are begotten by the monkish medievalist, who mulled over manuscripts and theorized on theological themes; they are not the kind of scholar which Emerson had hoped to see develop in America in ever greater numbers, namely the sage, the philosopher whose wisdom, derived from nature, books, and actions, might elevate and guide his fellow men. Can it be wondered then that thousands of our more alert and eager young men and women leave their colleges and universities with empty hearts and often with a sense of bitterness because they feel that they were cheated?

Although the liberal arts colleges are the worst offenders, the schools of engineering, of chemistry, of medicine, also could teach their students with greater consideration and could give them a finer social outlook than they have done so far, as Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes rightly pointed out before the Association of American Colleges, Jan. 20, 1938, when he stated: "As I see it, the colleges are to blame if their students who walk out with diplomas have no sense of social obligation."

It is beside the point to counter that there are some excellent teachers in every institution: it is our duty to see to it that *every* teacher in *every* school is doing his level best in order that every child may have a fair chance to grow and to develop.

SOME think it is impossible to get the sort of teaching personnel we need because we do not treat the teacher right: in our public schools we don't respect him overmuch, we pay him shabbily, and let him be kicked around by any clique that feels like venting its spleen on him; in our larger colleges and universities the "scholars" push him around and treat him with condescension, if not disdain: an academic Cinderella. For all these reasons, no doubt, some very good people stay out of teaching. But we can bring about a change in all these ways, and no doubt will, as soon as we have realized that our internal peace and our success as a nation depend to a great degree upon the kind of teachers we have in our schools. In war, only the very best weapons, soldiers, and generals will do. Have we not learned as yet that we must always war on ignorance and dangerous shibboleths in our kind of society? There should be such war, in fact, until we, as a people, are ready and willing to want fair-dealing for every one, to the end that each one may have it for himself and have it securely.

Only our teachers can bring this concept to the mass of our people by their example, providing they have what it takes. So far we haven't even bothered to take stock of whom we have nor have we troubled ourselves to check up on their performances. We only have grumbled about their collective insufficiencies. Perhaps the dull ones very often have driven out the good ones? We don't know. But we ought to know, for our own safety's sake!

Indeed it is high time that we begin to make a check in this regard so we can see who serves us faithfully and well and who is pompous and hollow and serves us ill. This should be done under the direction of a special "Dean of Instruction," as the protector and defender of the public interest. He should have no disciplinary powers, no more than a federal bank examiner or the Director of the Budget; his duty is simply to be the people's watch-dog and to investigate and to report when complaints and dissatisfaction pile up against certain quarters.

A check of this sort was undertaken a few years ago in one of our "great institutions of higher learning," although from much more simple and naive considerations. A professor at that institution, who is now in his thirtieth year of teaching there, had also served for several decades the Phi Beta Kappa chapter on his campus as secretary, counselor, and president. As such he made many contacts with students, and many came to see him for advice and help. This interest in students and their welfare prompted the college administration some ten years ago to appoint him faculty adviser to those incoming freshmen who had graduated with honors from their high schools.

Our professor now became fully aware, through complaints and many a sorrowful tale, of the waste, the misunderstandings, the disappointments, and the bitterness that were being bred in the various classrooms and lecture halls because there was no connection between teacher and class. Our professor, being a rather simple soul and an optimistic fellow, believed that his colleagues surely would make the necessary changes if they but knew how their students felt about some of their ways, their assignments, their examinations, etc. He did not know just what to do to bring about better cohesion. So he talked about the problem in his Phi Beta Kappa circles and in honor student groups, but he got no help: everybody was busy with his own little interests. So he wrote a book on this matter of teaching and scholarship and their relation to the common welfare. In this book he suggested the use of a student-faculty reaction sheet; if properly worked out and judiciously handled, he argued, this reaction sheet would quickly give any instructor a general picture of the wishes, likes and dislikes of the students, and would enable him to work with them more closely for their mutual benefit.

The students on his campus took up the matter with eagerness and a high-minded interest, and offered their help. Of their own accord they petitioned the administration to allow them to carry on such an experiment; the administration, however, could do nothing for them because existing regulations put matters of this sort under the jurisdiction of the faculty. The faculty committee in charge of courses of instruction was approached next. That committee, however, was of the opinion—in so far as it had an opinion—that the *administration*

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"Merry-go-round," by Edith Glaser.

should handle such an important matter! The students now tried to do something in the name of the student body and at its expense. Everything was going fine when the faculty member sitting on the student body's executive board put his foot down. So our professor decided to do it at his own expense, still believing that he could convince the faculty of the great good this reaction sheet would do everybody concerned.

In due course our professor got over 1,600 of these "reaction sheets" back into his hands, properly "checked" by students and often with detailed comments or suggestions. A full report of this experiment, with sample sheets and sixty-three well chosen comments, was published in 1939. Many teachers and administrators throughout the country were glad to see that somebody was doing something in this respect. On our professor's campus a number of his colleagues congratulated him on his pluck and thanked him for the help he had given them by his undertaking.

But others did not like the idea at all, especially those of whom their students would write: "The worst course I have ever taken. Professor's voice and delivery very poor . . . lectures confusing . . . is cynical in his attitude towards students, thus discouraging any attempt to ask questions during lectures or discussing material in private" or ". . . the poorest excuse for a professor that I have ever seen in my life. He is the most conceited and stupid person I have ever run across yet on the campus."

Our professor naturally was spoken to only by those who thought that he had done a good and useful piece of work; and he actually felt much encouraged. He did not know that those who thought quite otherwise were busy looking for the best means with which to lay him low. Being very much wrapped up in his experiment, he wanted to perfect its mechanism and its efficiency. He was not satisfied with having had only 1,620 returns in 1939, so he worked out a new form in the spring of 1940. This time he got back 4,000 student "reactions," affecting 400 members of the faculty. He subsequently sent to every one of them a copy of what their students had said, for that was the purpose of the whole undertaking. But the hostile forces were ready for attack. Knowing that they could not expect help from the administration—for they had tried that the year before, it seems—they juggled matters around until they found the proper stratagem: the most wrathful opponents sanctimoniously "petitioned" the faculty committee on privilege and tenure, asking for a ruling as to the academic propriety of our professor's doings. This faculty committee "after examination and deliberation" discovered: "that the unauthorized issuance by members of the faculty to students of questionnaires for the collection of data as to the professional competence of other members of the faculty, or the unauthorized publication by members of the faculty of such material, is a violation of faculty privilege against which all members of the faculty have a right to be protected."

The subject was brought up for action at the following general faculty meeting, which was, curiously enough, generously attended by "antis." When the vote was taken, it was taken *viva voce*. Instructors itching to "outlaw" reaction sheets or to settle their score with the disturber of their peace, shouted a lusty "Aye"; the others, mostly younger men, still very dependent upon the good will of their elders, came forth with a gentle "No." The secretary announced: "The ayes have it." The "kill" had been accomplished.

Our professor got up and moved "to request the president of the university to appoint a committee to consider the possibility of collecting data concerning the professional competence of members of the faculty by *authorized* issuance of questionnaires to students," but this motion failed, of course, to carry on formal vote. They didn't want any of it! Thus, by legalistic maneuvering, these "men of deep learning, veteran adepts in strategy," ignored the basic issue of devising means whereby the students might become protected against poor teaching and injustices and whereby a closer cooperation between faculty and students might be established.

The students were in an uproar over these questionable tactics and this palpable evasion of a pressing problem, and said so in their college daily in no uncertain terms. The administration in fact had to pour oil on the troubled waters of student opinion by stating that the rejection of this plan by the faculty did not in itself prohibit inquiries of this sort; that the action by the academic senate merely "indicates a protest of members of the faculty against the *unauthorized* issuance of questionnaires by other professors."

As a matter of fact, the president of the institution then did actually appoint a faculty committee and charged it with looking into the feasibility of such a plan. The committee, in due time, reported to him in generally favorable terms; but when the matter was submitted to the "elder statesmen" in Academia for possible faculty action, the suggestion was met with a flat "No." That was the end of that.

We have seen often enough in party politics and in government how an astute small group that knows how to handle the legal machinery to its advantage can work inestimable harm. That also happens in colleges, and more often than the people ever will know. But, as Bertrand Russell says in his essay, "Freedom and the Colleges": "This is a dangerous state of affairs, by which disinterested intelligence is partially muzzled, and the forces of conservatism and obscurantism persuade themselves that they can remain triumphant."

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Soviet Physics in Wartime

By A. F. YOFFE

THE role of technique—and, consequently, that of science—in modern warfare is sufficiently well known. We all remember Stalin's apt definition of modern warfare—a war of motors. In a conversation I once had with Voroshilov, the latter characterized modern warfare as a war waged by laboratories, the ultimate outcome of which depended on the successes and results of scientific research.

For the successful conduct of warfare, science has to be mobilized to the utmost. In countries where science developed outside of any plan it was found imperative to introduce a definitely directed plan when the war started, and even earlier, when the contours of the future war first began taking shape. The scientists have to be brought together and given definite tasks. This happened in the last war and is especially evident in the present war.

In the USSR there exists cordial collaboration between all scientists throughout the country. The Academy of Sciences, in particular, has mobilized all its members, its personnel and the vast number of scientific workers of institutes not under the auspices of the Academy. And all the efforts of this great body of scientists are directed to solving the multiform tasks ensuing from the needs of modern warfare.

And it can with full confidence be asserted that in placing scientific and scientific-technical work at the service of the country's defense, Soviet intellectuals have fully proved their worth and did not let their country down. In the USSR we had no need of setting up new institutions to plan and mobilize science. The organization of scientific work in the USSR had been running on planned lines for a long time preceding this. Soviet science has therefore for some considerable time now had direct outlet to and contact with industry and agriculture and, consequently, with problems concerning the country's defense. The Soviet government, and Stalin in particular, repeatedly warned that we must inevitably prepare for an attack against us and hence, organize beforehand and mobilize all our forces. This wise forethought and well conceived organizational work on a scientific basis and this direct relationship between scientific work and its actual application has long since been given effect in our country. Thus in this respect the USSR has the advantage over other progressive countries.

The Soviet Union has made such progress in linking up scientific work with the country's practical needs and has so extensively organized research along definitely planned lines that—to the surprise not only of enemies abroad, but even of friends—the technical might of our army proved to be higher than imagined and our main armaments—tanks and aircraft—much better than could have been thought. It was found that our armaments were on a far higher level than that which the German army had considered the acme of technical perfection.

The Academy of Sciences has four institutes in the field of physics. These institutes are splendidly equipped and are staffed with eminent scientists. In addition to these four bodies there is the State Optical Institute, one of the largest organizations in this field. There are also physical institutes under the province of the Moscow and Leningrad State Universities. And all these institutions have been fully mobilized.

How can we physicists and workers of the Academy of Sciences know precisely what are the army's needs and how can we be sure that those particular undertakings which we select from all the multiform tasks pertaining to the country's defense are the most important, the most vital undertakings and that we are utilizing our available forces in the most efficient way?

This is achieved first of all by a sufficiently close and immediate contact with war institutions, mainly those of a front-line nature, and then by observation of the results of application of our means and proposals in actual war conditions. Hence, we draw up a precise list of subjects to be dealt with in which physics can offer the most effective help in the fight with Hitler Germany.

I would like to make particular mention of the fact that there has been a profound change not only in the thematics of physical institutes engaged in war work, but in their very methods of work, while the tempo has considerably increased. Whereas previously the interval of time between the working out of a problem in the laboratory and its practical application took at least three years and generally was about five years, ways and means have now been found to reduce substantially this time, and to such an extent that even new war work in the sphere of science is today being effected at such a high speed as to ensure its practical application during the war.

Much of our work is not being done in laboratories, where all our projects were hitherto concentrated, but is being conducted in the actual works and plants producing the new item or testing the new method. Sometimes our war work is done under actual field conditions, in the front lines. One such undertaking, pertaining to the Red Navy, was effected by the Physico-Technical Institute. With only a few exceptions the personnel of this institute are not working in their laboratories but are to be found on board warships in the White, Baltic, and Caspian Seas and in the Far East. Many of these workers have had occasion actually to take part in action against the enemy while still continuing with their scientific work.

IT IS impossible to speak in detail of the truly heroic work done today by numerous scientific workers. I myself witnessed how a large group of collaborators remained for three weeks in their laboratory, working day and night. Sometimes one of the workers would drop from fatigue, and fall asleep on one of the couches or tables, but within three weeks a huge scientific undertaking had been completed and was ready for practical tests. I saw scientific work done in the open air at Kazan, with the thermometer registering forty to forty-five degrees below zero centigrade, the metal appliances sticking to the skin and searing hands and fingers. But every one of the workers doggedly went on with his job until the work was finished. This is how physicists work for the needs of the war.

I would now like to dwell on the nature of those tasks which the war puts before modern physics. You will understand that for reasons of security I unfortunately cannot touch upon the most important and interesting aspects of these problems. Most of the tasks confronting us have been posed by that newest and most effective class of armaments—aviation. It will be readily understood that questions of aerodynamics, of air flow, of reducing all resistance, play a vital role in modern aviation which, in today's war, demands ever greater speed of aircraft and ever greater altitudes. In modern aviation problems of aerodynamics therefore demand profound and detailed research.

Optics play a big role in aircraft. In order to be able to see objects on the earth from an aeroplane flying high above, all the possibilities of visibility and of photog-

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raphy have to be applied to the utmost. A thorough study has to be made of the passage of light through the atmosphere, the transparency of this atmosphere, and the passage through fogs, mist, or smoke which is occasionally encountered by aircraft. All the possible advantages offered by this or that kind of light should be fully utilized and research should be conducted into both visible light as well as infra-red light in the longer waves which, under definite conditions, disperses far less and offers better visibility.

Camouflaging is applied in order to render objects invisible from the air. The objective is masked so that it cannot be distinguished from above. And observations are not only conducted in visible light in which the object is camouflaged from the eye, but also through infra-red rays and through the photographing of objects by means of these rays. Infra-red ray photography clearly shows up objects which remained invisible to the eye under visible light. And means of camouflaging objects therefore had to be adapted to ensure invisibility also in infra-red rays.

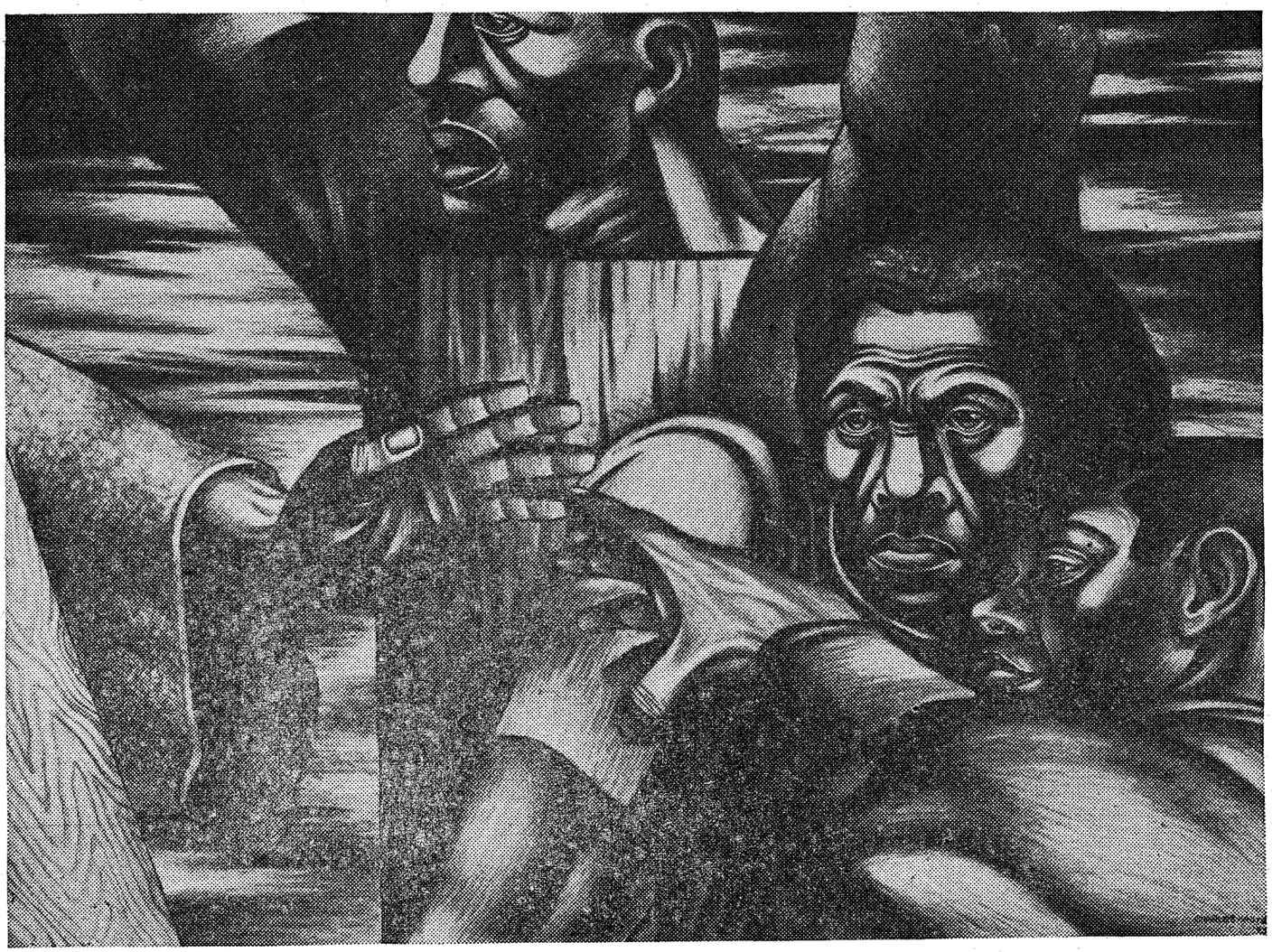
This keen contest between means of attack and defense is continuously developing and serves to further technique. We all know of the problems pertaining to blacking-out—one of the means of camouflage. Ensuring normal street traffic and work in blacked-out cities involves highly complicated tasks in the sphere of optical science. Here are one or two examples of these problems.

A factory has to go on working day and night and, on the other hand, it is essential that this plant should not be visible either by day or night. Blacking-out a huge plant with an enormous number of windows would be a very difficult undertaking. And at the same time, it is essential that the windows let through light so that work can proceed in the daytime. One of the methods for overcoming this difficulty, and described in an American periodical, was as follows: colored glass was fitted into the windows so as to let through only the blue light but not the yellow, while sodium electric lamps were used for illuminating the shops, these lamps giving a yellow light. The light from these lamps does not pass through the colored glass, while during the day these windows allow the blue light to penetrate and light up the inside of the plant. This is one of the methods by which such problems find solution.

Blacking out and the necessity of still having light sufficiently faint to remain unobserved and yet adequate for distinguishing objects and reading instrument dials necessitated wide development and utilization of luminescent and phosphorescent compounds.

Timely discovery and precise location of aircraft are essential in combating them. By day, during clear weather, this is effected not only by the human eye but also with the aid of optical instruments for observing planes and giving an accurate recording of the precise location of the aircraft.

As is well known, not only optics but acoustics are employed for this purpose. Sound-detectors are in the form of huge ears with the corresponding instruments and installations by means of which the listeners hear the sound of flying aircraft and determine the direction of the aeroplane's flight. We know of many appliances by means of which aeroplanes are located not only with the aid of light and sound but also by radio waves, for which purpose special radio appliances are em-



"Peter Still and Harriet Tubman." Still was the hero of Mrs. Kate Pickard's biography "The Kidnapped and the Ransomed," one of the early anti-slavery narratives. A detail drawing of a mural at Hampton Institute, executed by Charles White. Now showing with a group of works by Negro and white artists in an exhibition sponsored by the Joint Board, Fur Dressers and Dyers Union, CIO, 245 Seventh Avenue, New York.

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ployed. The last-named method has obvious advantages in that radio waves freely pass through clouds, are not affected by wind and are more universal than light and sound waves.

Searchlights enable optical instruments to be used for sighting aircraft at night. The designing of searchlights which could throw a beam of light for ten kilometers or so is no mean task and is fairly complicated both in relation to optics and in mechanical equipment and the choice of watchers. Each of these aspects needs scientific study.

Simultaneously with the determination of the direction of the enemy aircraft's flight, gunfire must be kept up against the aeroplanes. This is very difficult, as the speed of modern aircraft is exceedingly high and the sighting of aircraft, determination of the range and the opening of fire must be highly coordinated and effected very quickly, as there is very little time for first spotting the plane, establishing the range, and opening anti-aircraft gunfire on it. There is so little time for all this that these operations have to be done more swiftly than is humanly possible. Special automatic appliances have been designed for this purpose, and all these operations are effected much more quickly than if done by a human being.

Furthermore, aviation makes entirely new demands in the sphere of heat phenomena. Within a few hours an aeroplane can find itself transferred from atmospheric conditions of fifty degrees centigrade heat on the ground to fifty centigrade below zero up in the air. Consequently, all the instruments and appliances on board the plane have to be designed so as to ensure their smooth working even with a sharp fluctuation of one hundred degrees centigrade. If a lubricant begins running at fifty degrees centigrade heat, or becomes highly liquefied, it will be useless. If, on the other hand, it congeals at temperatures below zero, then again it will be useless at high altitudes where the temperature falls as low as fifty degrees centigrade. This has given rise to diverse problems involved in obtaining new materials and compounds to ensure smooth work even under such a huge temperature fluctuation.

The problem of ice coating of aircraft likewise makes new and important demands, raising new and scientifically interesting tasks. Ways and means have to be found to combat this phenomenon and this touches upon a number of other fields of science—thermics, electric heating, the possibilities of technical devices, etc.

A modern aeroplane with its equipment and instruments forms a veritable physical laboratory complete with several automatic appliances. The pilot must be in control of everything taking place on the plane and it is therefore necessary that he have all the instruments conveniently at hand, that they be constantly before his eyes. This requirement gave rise to the development of automatic signals and a number of electro-technical devices—electric energy being one of the most pliant and convenient forms of energy for better effecting such control.

On Patrol

Into the magnified silences
Under the dark bridge of fire
Goes the patrol
Up the black ridge to reach the line of night.
Manned with the many voiced illusions
Garrisoned with the enemy trees
Trickling
We move forward, freeze
Whispering, enemy, enemy, please
Move a little, speak
Across the abyss come a little closer
Cough, for your thirst for water grows
In the retreat, the range of my rifle
Will echo and repeat
Whatever you say now.

BILL AALTO.

I ABSTAIN from listing all the numerous questions which aviation has placed before physical science and I have only mentioned a few of these problems. Very many problems, acquiring particular importance in wartime, are likewise raised by radio communications as well as wire and other means of communication—optical in particular. All classes of communication find wide application in wartime, no longer demanding of physical science those simple and standard solutions suitable for ordinary conditions, but making far more intricate demands which nevertheless must find solution for successfully coping with the task.

Tasks and requirements of the navy are particularly closely associated with physical science. Even before the war it was well known that new types of mines were being employed, especially by Germany: magnetic, antenna and acoustic mines. Ways and means have to be worked out to locate these mines and render them harmless. This constitutes an entirely new departure in research.

Besides surface communications, the navy also needs underwater communications. But below water, surface radio waves are absorbed so quickly that their intensity dwindles to a negligible point at a distance of only a few meters. Although light can cast its beams in absolutely limpid water, in sea water it becomes dispersed and grows invisible a short distance away. Ultra-violet, infra-red and other parts of the electro-magnetic wave spectrum are inadequate for effecting submarine communications. Elastic and sound oscillations are the only phenomena which can spread for considerable distances under water. During World War I the French physicist, Langevin, who is an honorary member of our Academy of Sciences and a good friend of ours, designed an ultra-sound appliance which gives ultra-sounds with a frequency of up to 100,000 hertz. This device invented by Langevin—known as the echo-plummet—determines the depth of the sea bottom by means of an ultra-sound ray which is directed downwards and reflected from the sea bottom. The time needed for this ray to reach the bottom and then return is in proportion to the distance concerned. The echo-plummet has found several applications for wartime requirements. Ultra-acoustics have been established—a completely new field of science, offering diverse technical utility and unfolding for research many interesting new problems concerning the properties of short waves. This added yet another powerful urge in the progress of acoustics, introducing entirely new features to this branch of physics. It was at one time thought that the science of acoustics had already been exhausted as a subject of research. The revival of acoustics in a wholly new sphere of tasks, its speedy progress and the appearance of new subjects for research is one of the results of the tasks which war and electro-technics have raised before science.

The interaction between missile and protective appliances—tank armor plating or bomb shelter on which bombs drop, constitutes a highly important question for defense and forms a most interesting problem for molecular physics and its entire subsequent development. With the terrific velocity of missiles, reaching hundreds of meters per second, this interaction has brought to light several new and hitherto unknown properties of matter, to which no attention was previously paid. It was found, in particular, that as far as high velocities

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are concerned, ordinary liquids are solid bodies. Upon being hit by such a missile, liquids do not splash but are shattered like glass, being crushed into fine splinters like something fragile.

There is also a huge number of other tasks. Our tanks and motors involve a vast number of physical problems in relation to combustion, heat-dynamics, lubrication, etc. Several technical problems have acquired considerable importance in wartime—that of liquid oxygen, for instance. Of special significance in this connection is Academician Kapitza's installation for obtaining liquid oxygen. Many civil tasks can also be given solution, thereby releasing raw material, etc., for the immediate requirements of the country's defense. Some of the tasks place very high demands in respect to precision and fine detail in methods of observation.

Within the past few decades physics has been enriched with such fine means of measurement as to allow observation of each individual electron, the swiftly moving atom or the individual light quant (photon). We can examine the form of complex molecules and discover the admixture of infinitesimal quantities of active substances. A radio wave sent from a given spot can be noted and recorded after it has flashed round the world several times.

These methods have enabled us to penetrate into the side of the atom and atomic cell, have cast light on the mechanism of crystal structure, the nature of chemical interaction and molecular forces.

The constant competition between methods of offense and defense always raises problems with a double aspect, demanding solution of many new tasks.

WE FOUND ourselves in the present war under conditions where the means of air attack were far stronger than those of defense. When comparing the destructive effects of German air-raids on English towns at the beginning of the war with the results the Hitlerites achieved in their most concentrated attempts at bombing Moscow and Leningrad, one will readily appreciate the high degree to which defensive means against enemy air-raids have been developed in the Soviet Union and what little effect even the fiercest German raids have as compared with what they succeeded in doing in England, which at the beginning of the war was not prepared in this respect.

An instance of the dominance of offensive methods at the present time is to be found in the fight of the navy against aviation. From information we have concerning the loss of British warships, it is clear that aircraft is the main enemy of such vessels. Yet warships have hitherto been built solely on the basis of problems ensuing from the risks of artillery, torpedo or mine attacks, without taking into account the fact that the vessel can be attacked from the air. It is perfectly obvious that the loss of a number of battleships will give rise to new means of defense to eliminate the most menacing of all dangers, that from the air.

A navy neglecting to take into account this serious menace from the air and which would continue building ships in the old traditional manner would obviously find itself in a serious position. In all such matters progressive science—progressive science in the definition given by Stalin—is essential for the needs of modern warfare. The deeper war technique has its roots in science, the quicker and easier it is to cope with difficult problems. And in this respect the Academy of Sciences plays a vitally important role.

War has a considerable influence on technique in general and on physics in particular. Not only have the tasks raised by the present war taught us to work in a new manner and developed newer, more precise and reliable means of observation, but they have revealed a number of new manifestations. We physicists have greatly benefitted by familiarizing ourselves with actual factory conditions of mass production work. Many physicists who formerly possessed only purely laboratory, theoretical experience, have now mastered actual designing work and are acquainted with factory work and production conditions. They make a first hand study of technology, learn to give a proper estimation of economic factors, and come to appreciate the importance of reducing costs and simplification of production methods. These new practical features are not only of importance for present conditions but will serve to benefit the entire subsequent development of science when the latter will be called upon to deal with tasks of peacetime reconstruction and new techniques, in raising the output of agriculture, etc.

During the past twenty-five years Soviet science has been solicitously fostered by the Communist Party and the Soviet government and has been provided with all prerequisites for fruitful work, numerous new institutes being built and equipped with all modern scientific appliances and scientific work effected according to a well conceived, coherent plan embracing all fields of research and study. And Soviet science quickly mobilizes all scientific knowledge and achievements in all domains and junctures in different fields of science—biology and physics, physics and geology, etc.

The vast interest manifested by the general public in regard to the successes of Soviet science and the high appreciation shown by the government for the achievements of science and technique have helped to make Soviet science a pliant and powerful weapon in our country. In all its roots and branches Soviet science is closely and extensively bound up with life, with the tasks of national economy and the defense of our country.

TODAY, when our material forces and the level of our technique are undergoing such severe tests, this status of science in the Soviet Union offers it tremendous advantages. Our enemies subject science to barbaric persecution and in Hitler Germany science has been replaced by superstition and racism. Germany thought to win victory and domination solely by means of building up a war technique and nothing else, but Hitler blundered in his calculations. No matter what high degree it may have reached at the outbreak of war, that war technique which in the course of the war cannot speedily adapt itself to the new demands of warfare—such a technique cannot be strong. There can be no such technique unless it has its roots deep in science. Germany undermined the roots of all technique, particularly that of war technique which places exceptionally great demands upon science.

To Hitler's miscalculations on the blitzkrieg, to his miscalculation on fomenting national enmity between the different peoples of our multi-national state—an enmity which disappeared with the advent of Soviet power—to Hitler Germany's miscalculation on our technical backwardness and weakness, to all these errors in calculation should be added yet still another bad blunder which Hitler Germany failed to take into account and which, in its very essence, Germany could not possibly have envisaged. This is the tremendous importance of science in our country, the impossibility of segregating technique and particularly war technique from our progressive science as a whole. Science is a potent factor in modern warfare.

And in my opinion the course of the present war proves this. The longer the war continues, the weaker grows the German army, the more will the technique of our armed forces qualitatively outweigh that of Germany.

Professor Yoffe is a Stalin prize winner and director of the Institute of Physics and Technology at Leningrad.

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Record of an Inquisition

By HENRY EPSTEIN

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES was a teacher of English literature in the College of the City of New York. In the opinions of his colleagues on the faculty and of the student body he was a good teacher. In his classes he taught English literature—not political science, not economics, and not sociology. Outside of his classes he advocated a strong union among teachers and he helped to organize and promote the battle against fascism long before the rest of this nation awoke to its menace. Mr. Schappes believed in the ideology of the Communist state in line with the social and economic beliefs of Karl Marx and V. I. Lenin. While there was a political Communist Party in New York State he was a member of it and never denied such political affiliation. These are the undisputed facts which existed when a Joint Legislative Committee was created in March 1940 "to investigate procedures and methods of allocating state moneys for public school purposes and subversive activities." The committee, better known as the Rapp-Coudert committee, was continued with additional appropriations in 1941.

The "Report of the Sub-Committee Relative to the Public Schools and Colleges in the City of New York" (Leg. Doc. No. 49, 1942) consists of three hundred and eighty-five pages devoted exclusively to a diatribe against what is termed "that precise form of revolutionary radicalism and totalitarianism preached and practiced by the followers of the Third or Communist International, which has Moscow as its capital and is under the patronage of Joseph Stalin and the powers in control of the USSR." The committee "found no substantial evidence tending to show the existence of a Nazi or fascist conspiracy against the schools. It found much evidence showing the existence of such a conspiracy on the part of the Communist Party of the USA and its agents." The committee apparently found what it desired most to find and the manner of its procedure in the single case presented for criminal prosecution is the measure of its self-justification. The committee points with pride to the assertions: "This committee has exposed sixty-nine individual teachers as Communists by legal evidence. It has in its files information and evidence tending to implicate 434 others, including ninety-six teachers who signed Communist Party nominating petitions in the year 1939 alone."

"One teacher was indicted and convicted of the crime of perjury in the first degree by a court of criminal justice." The "one teacher" is Morris U. Schappes. With what was he charged, and of what was he convicted? He was charged with testifying falsely (1) that before 1938, there were only four members of the City College unit of the Communist Party known to him, whereas it was asserted that the number should have been as great as fifty; (2) that from February 1938 on, he was the sole editor of the Communist Party unit's paper, whereas it was asserted others edited the paper; (3) that he knew of no other Communist Party members than himself who were also members of the Teachers' Union; and (4) that there was no Communist Party "fraction" within the Teachers' Union, whereas it was asserted that there was such a "fraction."

IN ORDER that Schappes be found guilty as charged, it was essential that this testimony be "material" to the subject matter under inquiry. Since that inquiry was directed to the exposure of alleged "subversive" activities, it became necessary to connect this testimony to such "activities." How was this aim achieved? Certain witnesses, colleagues of Schappes and an employe of the college, having first denied membership in the Communist Party, subsequently changed their testimony and admitted their former affiliation. These self-confessed liars named many others of the faculty and employes of the college as "Communists" and controverted the testimony of Schappes. Then there were read into evidence in the trial long excerpts from the writings of Karl Marx, V. I. Lenin, and the Program of the Communist International, designed to convey the impression that Communism was equivalent to the advocacy of violent overthrow of our established government. Thus was the alleged falsity of Schappes' testimony shown and its asserted "materiality" established.

In the trial the defense sought to confront the state's witnesses with their prior inconsistent testimony before the Joint Legislative Committee given under oath, but in secret. The trial judge asked that the committee produce the record so that the court might determine if its use was proper on cross-examination to attack the credibility of the witnesses. The committee, asserting its "sovereign" legislative independence, refused to produce the minutes even for the court's inspection, and the court refused to compel its production. Thus an inquisitorial body was enabled to hear witnesses in secret, to accomplish a repudiation of prior testimony by the same witnesses, to project these witnesses into the Grand Jury room and into the judicial arena, to convict the person whose testimony was thus confuted, without making available the inconsistent testimony of the said witnesses. That this can be done in our judicial system is shocking. If the Schappes case did naught else, its exposure of this weakness in our legislative and judicial system is a contribution to the cause of remedial justice. The record of the case is replete with evidence that the trial was a trial of Communist doctrine and not of Morris Schappes. The courts have upheld his conviction and Morris Schappes languishes in prison. The sole recourse left open to restore his liberty is the possible exercise of executive clemency by Governor Dewey.

Assuming the correctness of the charges and the conviction, what do they mean? A man of high intellectual attainment and courage, rather than expose his colleagues to the danger of loss of their positions and to the threat of loss of livelihood, did testify falsely in the manner stated. He refused to "squeal" under circumstances that many high-minded people regard at least as warranting a refusal to answer. That his fears for his colleagues were well founded is shown by the results of the inquiry and the testimony of those who "sang" for the committee. "Seventeen teachers have been convicted in disciplinary proceedings of perjuriously denying Party membership in their testimony before our committee. Eighteen others have been suspended, of whom eleven are awaiting trial. Six others were not reappointed, and seven others have resigned under charges." Morris U. Schappes, alone out of all of those who allegedly perjured themselves, was criminally charged. Those who, having first denied, then later admitted their Communist affiliations, and who became the instruments of destroying their own colleagues—they have reaped the rewards of continued employment and promotion. Their victim is imprisoned. The nation whose political and social philosophy he espoused, is now our valued ally in a world war to destroy fascism, the enemy long ago foreseen and attacked by Mr. Schappes.

The gloom of the old Tombs, the dank walls of Sing-Sing, the darkness of the old cell-block of Dannemora, all these have been tasted by Mr. Schappes. He has suffered enough for what he did or did not do. Society has already exacted too severe a penalty from a gentle person. The Governor of New York State can rise to a high standard of human understanding by pardoning Morris U. Schappes.

Mr. Epstein was solicitor general of New York State in the administrations of Governors Lehman and Poletti. He was attorney for Morris Schappes in arguing the appeal from the conviction before the Court of Appeals.

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NM SPOTLIGHT

A Grim Churchill

MR. CHURCHILL had a job to do in the House of Commons and in large measure he did it superbly. His speech lacked the lilt of those evocative phrases which have given his war addresses a poetic quality, but for the objectives he had in mind dry sobriety served his purpose best. It was his intention to summarize the course of British foreign policy; but more, his chief aim was to arouse greater vigilance and to stifle complacency at home. True, his picture of German strength may have been overdrawn. Marshal Stalin last week described Germany as being on the brink of catastrophe. But, nevertheless, there was every need for Mr. Churchill to confront the country with the grave times through which it is passing and indicate the grim battles ahead.

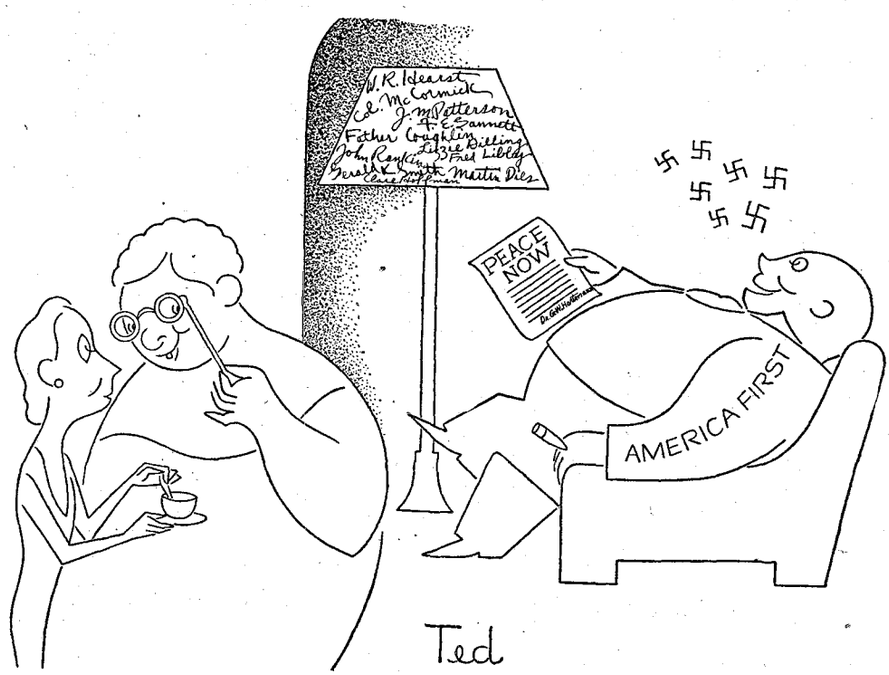
What struck us with particular force was the Prime Minister's reiteration of the triple unity that came out of Teheran. It has become almost a vogue in many of our own newspapers, and not only those which are eternally pledged to the sabotage of Allied solidarity, to point to every seeming "rift" as destructive of the good intentions of the war leaders when they met in Iran. Surface difficulties have been exaggerated beyond sane proportions, so that the doomsday crowd has thumped its breast and risen on its toes to proclaim that while unity was desirable it was also impossible. Mr. Churchill, however, was quick to refute the pessimists. There has been, he said, no cooling off of tripartite relations; there is more than diplomatic cordiality and the three countries are "absolutely united" in their projects against the common foe and in that "wide field of friendly cooperation" that lies before them after Hitler's annihilation. On the issue of Poland—a dispute over which the New York *Times*, among others, has been ever ready to denounce the Soviet Union as violating the Teheran agreement—Mr. Churchill commended the USSR's reasonable and just attitude. It is not of course the first instance in which the *Times* stands indirectly rebuked by one of Mr. Churchill's remarks. On another occasion when the strategists of Mr. Sulzberger's private general staff were saying that the campaign in Italy was the second front, Mr. Churchill disavowed any such belief and the *Times* was quick to draw in its horns.

In his speech, the reader can detect Mr. Churchill's desire to explain the relative idleness of the large land forces assembled in England. He explained at length, therefore, what the British navy and air forces, in cooperation with our own, were doing to eliminate the under-water marauders and to disrupt German production. While the huge bomber forays are doing tremendous damage and tightening the noose around the Nazis, Mr. Churchill, it seems to us, overemphasized the scale of their achievement. But even if we keep this reservation in mind, it would be a decided distortion to say that he views intensive air attacks as the limit of Allied undertakings. He makes it absolutely clear that the colossal raids are transitional to plans for an overseas invasion, that they are the foundation for an attack on the continent where the Nazis will be hit by "land, sea and air with all the strength that is in us during the coming spring and summer."

In the area of diplomacy, most refreshing was the Prime Minister's reference to Tito and his Liberation Army. There is here not only a realist's recognition of the inevitable but a gradual maturing of British policy grounded in the proposition that "the sanest and safest course for us to follow is to judge all parties and factions dispassionately by the test of their readiness to fight the Germans and thus lighten the burden of Allied troops." In Yugoslavia the application of this principle ends the fantastic Mikhailovich myth and begins the *de facto* recognition of the Tito forces, including the Communists, as the genuine liberators of that beleaguered country.

IN REGARD to Italy, Mr. Churchill forgets the test he applied to Yugoslavia in distinguishing friends from enemies. Neither the King nor Badoglio can do anything to lighten the tasks of our campaigners. Without political support among the Italian masses, the technical government has not mobilized nor can it mobilize a large and enthusiastic Italian army against the Germans. And Mr. Churchill's failure to credit the work of the six-party coalition or to collaborate with it in developing Allied plans in Italy is a huge blunder which delays our military advances and increases the loss of British and American soldiers. Neither military expediency nor the need to take Rome first can justify the imposition of a government on the Italian people when that government's chiefs are the ones responsible for Italy's debacle, past and present. Instead of now taking measures to prevent the political crisis which will come with the fall of Rome, Mr. Churchill paves the way for its intensification.

There are other facets of Mr. Churchill's speech deserving of more extensive comment. His definition of unconditional



"He says those spots before his eyes make him very happy."

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surrender will certainly dissuade the Nazis from thinking that they can strike a bargain. That they are working hard for such a bargain was indicated by Marshal Stalin in his order of the day celebrating the Red Army anniversary. As for the scene in Greece, Mr. Churchill was none too enlightening. In fact he was foggier than the situation warrants. He could have said more about China, for it is high time that the internal crisis in Chungking and its effects on the war were given a public airing. We were disappointed by his failure to comment at greater length on relations with the French Committee, and his omission of any reference to the tragic state of affairs in India or developments in connection with Spain. But even with these serious omissions (some of these questions were discussed by Mr. Eden after the Prime Minister spoke) his speech is a warm affirmation of Allied solidarity and a grim warning that the road to be travelled before the fighting in Europe ends will be strenuous and demanding of the utmost in sacrifice.

Calling the Shot

AMONG the cheerful pieces of political news to have emerged from a generally cheerless week is Washington's undeniable change of front towards Franco. The Department of Justice's indictment of Spanish falangism is a moral and judicial embargo to match the State Department's refusal to sell Spain oil and gas through the month of March, and the Treasury Department's warning to neutrals that if they want the United States to continue buying their gold they must prove that none of it has been acquired through trade with the Axis. The government's brief on the Falange, prepared in proceedings to denaturalize a Puerto Rican falangist, clearly recognizes that party as an enemy group with Franco at its head, and denounces falangist *"Hispanidad"* propaganda as a threat to hemisphere solidarity.

These three steps, linked to British action in tightening its blockade on the Bay of Biscay, find Latin Americans rejoicing at the trend towards ending the appeasement of Franco. There are, of course, obstacles still to be hurdled before US and British policy can be called totally progressive. Some circles here and in London believe that Franco can be reformed. This illusion is as silly as it is dangerous for it inevitably means that the fascist Falange will be given a longer lease on life. Making Franco a "genuine neutral" might reduce, for example, his shipments of wolfram to Germany from 300 tons to fifty tons per month. But even 100,000 pounds of wolfram can be converted by the Nazis into plenty of death for Allied troops. What the logic of present policy toward Franco calls for is a showdown which will unhorse the Caudillo and his political retinue. Representative Coffee indicated in an excellent speech to the House last week that there are groups of Spaniards in Spain, particularly those centered around the anti-fascist Supreme Council of National Unity, with whom we can work in ending the Franquist menace to our war progress and in stopping the Franquist conspiracies in Latin America. Some Allied diplomats, Mr. Coffee also pointed out, have been playing around with blackguard Spanish monarchists to whom Franco is no longer suitable. Either idea—reforming Franco, or replacing him with one of Juan March's proteges—will injure our prestige among Spanish democrats and will not serve our interests in terminating a regime which Hitler considers to be his last outpost in Europe.

"Orderly" Coup by GOU

PRESIDENT RAMIREZ of Argentina, the pro-Nazi and hated head of the junta which has been in power since last June, has suddenly become "very tired" and has relinquished his post to his former Minister of War, Edelmiro J. Farrell. As we write, the latter calls himself Acting President. Farrell, backed by the GOU (Group of United Officers), headed by Col. Juan Peron and other of the more outspoken Hitlerites in and around the government, offers the world the fantastic pretense that this new coup was not a coup at all. Everything, according to them, is quite orderly; the only thing that has happened is a slight shift in cabinet responsibilities.

Fortunately no one is fooled. It is perfectly plain that the internal contradictions of the unpopular fascist clique have once again caught up with them and created another crisis. The struggle within the fascist group centers not upon the issue of fascism versus democracy but around the problem of injecting sufficient strength into the government to permit it to continue defying the will of the Argentine people and the progress of the war against the Axis. Ramirez could no longer deliver the goods; he has consequently been forced into retirement.

The importance of this latest crisis is that it gives the Good Neighbor nations of the western hemisphere the long awaited opportunity to break relations with Argentina. Mr. Stettinius, speaking for the US Department of State in the absence of Secretary Hull, has indicated that these events give "ground for concern" and cause for inter-American consultations. This suggests that the nature of Ramirez' "retirement" is being investigated by the Inter-American Advisory Committee for Political Defense sitting in Montevideo. This is the same body which investigated the December coup in Bolivia and advised against recognition. Its job with respect to Argentina is of more decisive importance, for now we are dealing with the heart of the fascist conspiracy in this hemisphere. We trust the committee will do its work with courage and dispatch, for it is high time that the United States and its Latin American allies came to the aid of the democratic people of Argentina for the purpose of liquidating Hitler's bridgehead on this side of the Atlantic.

Chungking Myth

WHOM the Chinese reactionaries think they are fooling when they describe the relationship between themselves and the Communists as "a family affair" in which "the government are the elder members of the family and the Communists the junior members," it is difficult to say. Certainly they are not pulling the wool over the eyes of the Chinese people, who employ every possible device to make known to the entire democratic world the seriousness of the internal situation and the danger of civil war provoked by the reactionaries. Perhaps the reactionaries think that foreigners, the allies of the Chinese people in the United States, Great Britain, and elsewhere, are taken in, but if so it is because they are burying their heads in the sand.

The latest performance of the Chungking reactionaries has been to deny the request of the foreign newspaper correspondents for permission to visit Yenan, capital of the Northwest Border Region, to see for themselves what the Communists and the heroic armies under their leadership are doing. Liang Han-chao, Chungking Minister of Information, explained to them that "The elders are not keen on publicizing disputes within the family." He also revealed that press dispatches on the Communist question had been suppressed on the grounds that it was not in the national interest to release them. The truth of the matter is, of course, the direct opposite. It is in the *national* interest to publicize the threat of civil war in China, for then China's allies in the United Nations can more effectively support and aid the Chinese people in their efforts to eliminate the defeatists and traitors from their government. What the Minister of Information was really saying was that publicity interferes with the anti-war interests of the reactionary clique that now dominates the Chungking regime and the Kuomintang party.

Must Reading

THE February *Survey Graphic* makes a distinguished contribution towards elevating America's understanding of the

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Soviet Union. Many of the contributors have for years followed the development of the Soviet community of peoples and are established authorities in their fields. They tell of the great campaigns of the Red Army, how the territories in the east are images of our old Wild West, how air routes to be developed after the war will make us neighbors across the North Pole. A special section deals with the unfolding of Soviet culture ranging from the arts to the huge enterprises caring for life and health. And a final section "draws the strands of American-Russian relations together." Especially impressive is Vice-President Wallace's foreword, "Two Peoples—One Friendship." While we would not agree with everything some of the contributors write, the editors of this issue have done a fine service.

Editors With Scissors

THOSE New Yorkers last week who sought news in most of the metropolitan papers of American Labor Party developments wasted their hard-earned pennies. They would have needed a microscope to search the big papers for the news that Philip Murray and the Congress of Industrial Organizations backed to the hilt the campaign of the CIO Political Action Committee for a united ALP. Nor could they have learned that Mr. Murray's endorsement of Sidney Hillman's program came simultaneously with similar support from 286 CIO leaders representing every union in New York State. This is Grade A news any way you reckon and its omission was all the more glaring when you recall that several weeks ago the same editors threw big headlines over [illegible]hat some thirty scattered labor [illegible] representing few unions and less [illegible]s, had taken a position contrary to that of Mr. Murray. It is high time that New York readers indicate their indignation at the way the big-time editors use their scissors.

Anybody interested in New York State politics will recognize the significance of Mr. Murray's letter to Mr. Hillman: "I have followed closely," he wrote, "your efforts in New York and other states to work out a basis of united action by labor unionists and other progressives and have noted how carefully you have adhered to the purposes and policies outlined by the last CIO convention." This should knock the props from under those who clamored that Mr. Hillman was "turning the ALP over to the Communists." It underscores the reality that the Hillman plan for broadening trade union and liberal representation in the New York State leadership of the ALP is the property of the CIO as a whole. It is high time that the state committee of the ALP surrender its theme song that "Everybody Is Out of Step But Johnnie."

Another significant development last week was Mr. Hillman's refusal to turn over the records of his committee to the Dies bloodhounds hot on the hunt for another smear. Mr. Hillman pointed out that full cooperation had already been accorded FBI men: the latter were acting upon the Attorney General's request after Dies' comrade-in-arms, Howard Smith, had charged the CIO with violation of the Smith-Connally act. Hillman's forthright stand drew such favorable response from the entire ALP rank and file that Messrs. George Counts and Alex Rose, "right-wing" leaders, were constrained to do likewise: they demanded that Congress fold up the Texan's committee. This is to the good. But, as many ALP people point out, it isn't good enough. How effective is this attack upon Dies if the state committee itself indulges in Red-baiting? How meaningful is it if they continue to threaten withdrawal from the ALP should unity forces win the March 28 primary? If Messrs. Rose and Counts mean what they say about Dies, they must dispense with Dies' tactics themselves, and work together with all groups that stump for a victory policy in New York State. And that, in political ABC, means full support to the President for a fourth term.

Labor-Business Parley

CAN capitalists, workers, and farmers pull together in solving the problems of the postwar period? What may prove to be a significant step towards an answer began to shape itself at a recent two-day conference in Atlantic City. The conference, called by the National Association of Manufacturers, brought together representatives of such organizations as the US Chamber of Commerce, Investment Bankers Association, Committee for Economic Development, Association of American Railroads, National Foreign Trade Council, AFL, CIO, American Legion, National Grange, American Farm Bureau Federation, and National Council of Farmer Cooperatives.

The purpose of the conference was to "explore the grounds of possible understanding and cooperation on the part of the participating organizations." While the meeting focused on the postwar period, it also recognized "the urgent need of continued all-out war effort." The sessions were closed to the public, but the conference's general approach to the problems of the peace was indicated in a statement which was unanimously adopted. This outlined three major objectives: "An economy of plenty instead of scarcity; an opportunity for people to have jobs and increasingly better living standards and educational advantages; an opportunity for people to save and invest." These are objectives which the entire nation can endorse. While opposing what it called a "government planned economy," and insisting that "The desired objectives can be brought about by united cooperative action and understanding among all of the economic groups as producers and consumers," the statement added: "If we fail to do these things together, then the task will fall upon the government." A temporary organizing committee of sixteen was chosen and it was decided to hold similar conferences every two months to take up specific problems.

It is too early to appraise in any definitive fashion the value of the conference. Its statement was necessarily general in nature, and it remains to be seen how far the participating organizations will go in working out joint policies for attaining the outlined objectives. But the mere fact that representatives of big business, organized labor and the farmers (we hope the Farmers Union and small business and consumers' groups will also be included) were able to get together and agree on these objectives shows that a real basis exists for achieving in the postwar period that strengthened national unity in support of the Teheran program which Earl Browder urged in his recent report to the national committee of the Communist Party.

Silk Hat Termite

CHARLES BEDAUX' suicide brought tears to few men on this globe, but we have no doubt that it brought relief to many a shady character. Bedaux knew plenty: if ever one man symbolized the international ramifications of fascism, it was this proponent of the "stretch-out" system. His death probably sealed the truth about many another who, like himself, spun the web of treasonous intrigue throughout the world's capitals. Fortunately, however, he did do some talking before he took the overdose of luminol—Attorney General Biddle revealed some fascinating data, hitherto secret, which was based upon signed statements that linked Bedaux with such fancy scoundrels as Otto Abetz, Capt. Hans Wiedemann, Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, Pierre Laval and many others whose names have become terms of obloquy.

Bedaux, erstwhile companion of the Duke and Duchess of Windsor, was deeply embroiled in intrigue with the Nazis and Vichyites; the treason charges that were being prepared against him were based upon his diligent labors in 1942 on behalf of the Petain setup. One of his generous contributions to the Axis cause, it appears, was the development of a plan whereby oil refineries on the Persian Gulf could be pro-

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tected by the Germans from Allied bombings. After the United States entered the war he offered this plan to the German military authorities. All this time he acted as a sort of super-agent for Vichy and Berlin, constantly on the go throughout Axis territory on behalf of his fascist associates. These were a few of the charges that brought him to the brink of trial for treason.

All this brings up a highly significant consideration: the grounds for Bedaux' indictment on treason charges were based upon his cooperation with Vichy in 1942. That predicates an assumption—long overdue—that the Vichy authorities are every whit as culpable for their crimes as their masters in Berlin. If this be so, many an observer asks why the opposition in some Washington circles to the French National Committee's plans to try such men as Peyrouton and Flandin for treasonous dealings at Vichy. Undoubtedly the evidence against them is as damning as the evidence against Bedaux; and the French have the same right to mete out justice to their traitors as we have to ours. We trust this will be understood by those who show too tender a solicitude for war criminals, wherever they may be. And we have no doubt that energetic investigation of Bedaux' friends here would reveal some highly important evidence. Bedaux's associate, Hans Wiedemann, spent several years here as consul: no doubt he left some tell-tale traces that merit fearless examination.

The Colleges and ASTP

FOR many reasons it is unfortunate that "imperative military necessity" has compelled the War Department to cut the Army Specialized Training Program from 145,000 to 35,000 men. The 35,000 who will be left at the colleges will be primarily those taking advanced courses in medicine, dentistry, or engineering, as well as 5,000 pre-induction students.

In announcing this decision the War Department states that the Army is now short 200,000 men because of the failure of Selective Service to deliver draftees according to schedule. It is clear that not the War Department, but those members of Congress who have hobbled Selective Service, are to blame for the drastic slash of the ASTP, a program which has proved highly valuable both to the students and to the Army. The long delay in drafting pre-Pearl Harbor fathers and the provisions under which agricultural workers are given special favors in deferment such as no other war workers enjoy, are largely responsible for the failure of Selective Service to meet its schedule.

The colleges and educational leaders are to be commended for the cooperative spirit in which most of them have accepted a decision which will undoubtedly be a hard blow financially to many institutions. We believe it is a national obligation to see to it that no college is forced to close its doors and no teacher is let out because of the curtailment of the ASTP. A committee of the American Council of Education has come forward with what seems to us a constructive proposal: that the War Department increase the number of seventeen-year-old pre-induction students from the present 5,000 to 100,000. A criticism of ASTP curtailment made by Dr. Willard C. Rappleye, dean of the Columbia University Faculty of Medicine, is also worth looking into. Dr. Rappleye argues that it is shortsighted to transfer first-year medical and dental men and pre-medical and pre-dental students to the camps because this would mean that by 1946 the medical and dental schools would be operating at fifty percent of capacity. Should the war still be on at that time, the armed forces would be deprived of any new doctors and dentists. Since this problem involves only about 4,000 men, it is worth reconsidering.

"Le Maquis"

THE vocabulary of the French resistance movement has been increased by a new word: *le maquis*. Of course, the word is an old French word. It means underbrush or dense forest. But today *prendre le maquis* (to take to the woods) means to join the underground army of France where it takes on the form of organized guerrilla bands.

The soldiers of the *maquis* operate mainly in the province of Haute Savoie, the territory not far from the Italian-French frontier. The main body is made up of young Frenchmen who fled to the mountains to escape deportation to Germany as forced labor battalion members. In the last months of 1943, the *armee du maquis* derailed about twenty trains, it was reported by Vichy.

The Vichy authorities openly complain of the "criminal attitude of the people towards those bands." There even have been cases when gendarmes released captured guerrillas or let them escape. Twice, Vichy promised an amnesty to those who would return voluntarily from the *maquis* and "cease to be instruments of the British and the Communists." In October 1943, the German commander of the Savoie military district organized a punitive expedition. But the guerrillas were warned and attacked the Germans from the rear.

In December the labor weekly of Lausanne published an interview with a member of the *armee du maquis*. This guerrilla fighter was authorized by his commander to meet a Swiss journalist and to answer the latter's questions. Here is one answer to the question about the *maquis'* organization and growth.

"On Nov. 11, 1942, when the Germans occupied the hitherto unoccupied zone of France, all of us understood that the armistice of 1940 had been broken by the enemy. Honest men, Christians, patriots with a respectable past are ready to give their lives for the country. They all consider themselves soldiers, and the nation considers them soldiers too. The struggle is very hard but it gives France a new soul. The common danger unites farmers, workers, and bourgeois. Our units represent a veritable army with modern arms and experienced commanders. Young men who want to join our ranks are scrupulously examined. Unreliable elements are immediately eliminated. Discipline is very severe.

"You may be sure that our actions are not just blind outbursts of popular rage. On the contrary they are carried out on the basis of clear and precise orders. We soldiers of the *maquis* know that our lives are constantly at stake. . . .

"We know that one day we'll have to take responsibility for every one of our deeds. The people of France will judge us. Therefore we make a complete record of every case of punishment meted out by us. When these documents are published the people will find that they are as complete as the minutes of a regular court martial. We also have to make requisitions for our army. But here again we are anxious to keep records in order to reimburse everyone.

"Our military operations are carried out after thorough planning. We have a sufficient number of highly qualified superior officers and numerous battle proven non-commissioned officers.

"Our operations are coordinated with the actions of other armed forces of the French underground. We have our newspapers also. Most of our arms were taken from the enemy. We have also captured radio sets, ambulances, motor vehicles and some heavy guns. We have to fight against an enemy who is far superior in arms and in numbers. Still, the Germans were not able to catch a single *maquis* band despite several large scale military actions."

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The Baruch Report

By THE EDITORS

THE Baruch-Hancock report aims to establish the framework for an orderly transition from a war to a peace economy. It is not a blueprint for postwar prosperity; it is not a design for a new social order; it is not a formula for the provision of jobs for all and a high standard of living. It is an *approach*, practical and necessarily limited, to the gigantic and unprecedented problems involved in shifting the greatest capitalist country in the world from an all-out war economy to the production of peacetime goods. The report does not relieve employers, labor, the farmers, small business, and the government of the task of working out specific policies and proposals for the problems that will arise.

The approach of Messrs. Baruch and Hancock takes as its starting point that "there is no need for a postwar depression." It emphasizes that an economy of full employment in the peace can be won by keeping "the human side of demobilization" well in mind and by striving for "improvements in our standards of life—better houses, better clothes, better food, better safeguards for children, better health protection, and wider educational opportunities." The report attempts to outline the broad policies to enable us to prepare now for peace or for the partial peace that would come with a sudden collapse of Nazi Germany.

The report has been attacked from two quarters: by Senate obstructionists like George and Vandenberg, on the ground that it would by-pass Congress and give too much power to the executive—this despite the fact that the report emphasizes that it is Congress that will pass the legislation to implement its program; and by certain liberals on the ground that it would deliver the postwar economy into the hands of big business. The first line of attack is too transparent to require discussion. The criticisms of liberal publications like *PM*, the *Nation*, and the *New Republic*, though they contain individual points of merit, seem to us based on a wrong approach to the postwar period. NEW MASSES agrees with these liberals that what Messrs. Baruch and Hancock call "taking the government out of business" is not the best way of assuring a high-production peacetime economy. We agree that in the abstract it would be better if the government, instead of turning over all its plants and machinery to private ownership, would retain at least part of these facilities and operate them on the TVA pattern.

But postwar solutions cannot reflect merely what liberals and the labor movement think desirable. Any proposal, no matter how sensible, which would arouse the sharp resistance of that dominant section of big business that supports the war and can become an active supporter of the program of postwar collaboration and stability envisaged in the Teheran declaration, ought not to be pressed. The perspective of the liberal critics of the Baruch-Hancock report, whether they realize it or not, is one of sharp class conflict such as would undermine national unity and threaten to wreck the entire Teheran program, thereby opening the sluices of World War III.

NOR are we disposed at this time to join in the attack on the two appointments that have already been made to carry out the report's recommendations: Brig. Gen. Frank T. Hines, head of the Veterans Administration, to be retraining and re-employment director, and William L. Clayton, leading Texas cotton factor, to be surplus war property administrator. Recent experience would seem to dictate greater caution in jumping to conclusions about such matters. When the term "liberal" covers such persons as Bullitt, Berle, and Biddle, and when "big business representative" includes men like Nelson, Wilson, and Stettinius, it is clear that such designations shed little light on the patriotism and public usefulness of the particular individuals.

There is legitimate reason for criticizing the Baruch-Hancock report, not because it accepts the premise that big business will continue after the war to remain in control of our economy, but because it fails to provide for the participation of labor, farmers, small business, and consumers, without whose cooperation American capitalism cannot solve its postwar problems. There is, however, nothing in the report that would bar such participation, and Donald Nelson recently promised labor an active role in planning reconversion.

Better safeguards than are indicated in the report are needed against monopolistic abuses in the disposal of government-owned property. We also do not think that the present Congress, particularly after what happened last week, ought to be entrusted with drafting a postwar tax law to reduce rates to "normal peacetime levels." We question too whether such levels ought to be restored immediately after the war, especially in view of the huge profits and reserves that many corporations will have piled up during the war. And we believe that experience will show that government participation will be an indispensable factor in assuring that expansion of foreign and domestic markets without which a high level of production and employment cannot be achieved.

It is clear that the Baruch-Hancock report is far from perfect. But progressives, instead of sniping at it, ought to accept the responsibility of helping to strengthen it.

"Workers in a War Plant," by Edith Glaser.

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FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

Reckoning in the Pacific

THE terrific impact of Admiral Nimitz's offensive in the Central Pacific can be gauged by the unprecedented firing of the top men in the Japanese Armed Forces. The chief of the amy, General Staff Field-Marshal Sugiyama, and the chief of the naval general staff, Admiral of the Fleet Nagano, have been summarily dismissed, seemingly as the result of the "return visit for Pearl Harbor" paid by our Navy at Truk. The Navy left a heavy calling card marked "with thanks." The Japanese answer was drastic, but wholly negative. Of course, the two-day blasting of Truk by a great American fleet is only part of the picture. We have gone much further and much wider.

The complete capture of Eniwetok Atoll gives us an advanced base from which we can use land-based bombers to soften up such enemy bases as Truk, Ponape, Wake, and even Marcus—all except the latter being within a thousand mile radius from Eniwetok. Wake, Saipan and Guam are only 1,100 miles away. Thus our umbrella of land-based bombers throws a great shadow to within some 1,200 miles from Tokio and the Philippines. US task forces, or—more correctly—fleets with aircraft carriers, probed and hit much further west, as the raid on Saipan last week proved. This raid pushed like a long finger between the enemy bastions of Wake and Marcus to the north, and Ponape and Truk to the south. These bastions had been attacked from the air before. The thrust into the Marianas, following the partial conquest of the Marshalls, points at Formosa and the Philippines and the real life line of Japanese sea traffic between these islands and the Chinese mainland. To the south the enemy bases at Rabaul and Kavieng have been greatly neutralized and are in the process of "rotting on the stalk," deprived of safe and regular communications with the homeland.

The freedom with which our great fleets and task-forces roam in the "colonnade" of Japanese bases in the Central Pacific (the "colonnade" consisting of Wake, Marcus, and the Bonins on one side, and Jaluit, Ponape, Truk, and Palau on the other) is an amazing manifestation of the ability, under present conditions, to win with carriers against atolls. We have the carriers and the Japanese have the atolls. Now, an atoll can hold only a very limited number of planes. You cannot add an atoll when one does not exist. You cannot move an atoll. On the other hand, you can add a carrier when you have got one and you can move your carriers wherever they are needed. Furthermore, it is clear that our materiel and personnel is so superior to those of the Japanese, that the normal preponderance of land-based aviation over carrier-based planes appears to be in the process of being cancelled out. And so we see that we are winning the battle of carrier *vs* atoll-with-air-strip.

Of course, such an advantage will not necessarily exist when we enter the zone of the big islands—the Philippines, Formosa, and the Japanese home islands. This is where the Japanese fleet will presumably lie in wait in the hope of administering us a Tsushima. But so far the Japanese fleet has not only refused to give battle as a body, but it appears that it was not even on the scene at Truk, where there were reasons to expect it to be. The assumption that the Nipponese fleet is either in the Philippines or in home waters appears justified. This leaves us free to push the enemy arc of defenses further west with the probable occupation by our forces of the Carolines and the Marianas in the not too distant future. This is island *leaping*, not island *hopping*, that Admiral Nimitz is doing. Truly an unusual example of decisive and bold strategy on our part.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that the campaign in New Guinea remains in a sort of rut and the campaign in Burma is in such an embryonic stage that it will hardly get really going before the monsoons. Thus the general prospect appears to be this: with our preponderance in floating air power (carriers backed up by the fleet), the Japanese can hardly hope to hold their bases east of the line Bonins-Yap very long, unless they risk their fleet. But it will take huge accumulations of materiel and forces on the Asiatic mainland finally to sever their "esophagus" which runs through the inner seas of China. Nimitz alone cannot do the job. It will be up to Chiang and Mountbatten also. The Chinese have done a lot to help by winning their five consecutive battles of Changsha, thus preventing the Japanese from creating a continuous front stretching from northern China to Indo-China and Burma.

FOR two weeks now the Anglo-American forces have been staging an offensive of unprecedented might against the German aircraft industry. Approximately twenty-five such concentrated attacks have been made, of which eight were double; three, triple, and one—quadruple. The spread of attacks was great and covered the area between Lingen near the Dutch border, Poznan in Poland, Rostock on the Baltic Sea and Zell-am-See in Western Austria. The central objective was enemy aircraft, with railway, electric, rubber-

Lozeno in the Mexican magazine "Futuro."

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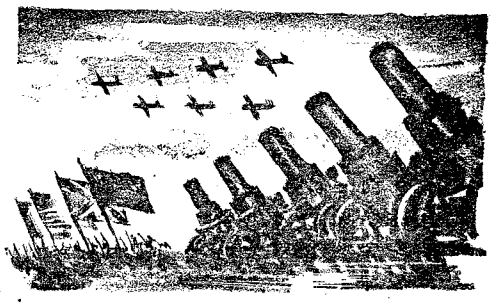
chemical, munitions, and ball-bearing industries thrown in. The characteristic orientation of the attack against aircraft production (especially fighters) tends to indicate that this great air offensive might be the initial phase of the coming invasion of Europe. Aside from the increased volume of bombing, its consistency, as well as the total coverage of all Germany, stands out.

THE fronts in Italy continue in a lull, with no decisive action on either side. In this connection we might point out that many military reviewers, having little to say, revert to piffle. We might point out (with sincere grief) that even such an earnest man as Major George Fielding Eliot succumbed to the epidemic when he wrote in the New York *Herald Tribune* on February 26, after discussing the German situation on the Eastern Front: "One question comes insistently to mind: is it possible that Hitler's insistence on wiping out the Anzio bridgehead at all costs has used up the German reserves which might have been earmarked for a counter-offensive on the Russian Front?" The Major in this instance seems to have lost all sense of proportion. Does he really think that the four or five extra German divisions allegedly introduced by Kesselring into the beachhead fighting could have possibly made an appreciable difference on the huge Soviet Front? The Major again must have been looking at the Eastern Front through the wrong end of his binoculars. This happens to him periodically.

THE Soviet offensive against the key to the northern Baltic area, Pskov, continues with great vigor. The important railroad junction of Dno, fifty-five miles east of Pskov, was captured on February 24.



Since then the armies of General Khozin (Second Baltic Front) have cleared the enemy from the stretch of the trunk line between Dno and Novosokolniky. This gives the Soviets a double-track line between Leningrad and the very outskirts of Vitebsk. This line does not include any large bridges or other engineering works and, therefore, can be put in operation within a few days. Possession of this line will greatly bolster the effort of General Khozin, who heretofore had to operate in a railless area (west, northwest, and southwest of Kholm) and is now thrusting at a good clip toward the rail center of Ostrov, thirty-two miles south of Pskov. Capture of Ostrov would cut off two rail lines running from Pskov south to Polotsk and southwest to Dvinsk (Ostrov is on the latter line) and would outflank hard-pressed Pskov from the south.

Meanwhile General Popov is moving westward from Novosokolniky on the junction of Idritza, or in the Riga direction. The German announcement last week that Vitebsk was evacuated has not found confirmation as yet, but the Germans might be preparing Nazidom for that setback.

At the southern end of the Byelorussian front, General Rokossovsky captured the fortress-town of Rogachev on the upper Dnieper after having wiped out the Zhlobin-Rogachev trans-Dnieper bridgehead held by the Germans. He is now spreading northward in the direction of Bykhov and Moghilev (after having captured Novy Bykhov), westward in the direction of the triple railroad and triple highway center of Bobruisk, which is the protecting bastion for Minsk, and southward to outflank the stronghold of Zhlobin. The Germans understand the danger of this latest Soviet breakthrough and are counterattacking violently, but so far unsuccessfully. South of Zhlobin no major action has been reported along the entire southern wing of the front, although there are indications that the Germans are trying to reduce General Vatutin's salient in the Lutsk area, not so much to recapture Sarny and Lutsk, as to protect Kovel, Lvov, and Tarnopol.

The Soviet Air Force staged a raid of 600 planes on Helsinki and the town is reported to have suffered greatly, especially the German-operated naval docks. As a rule the Russians do not believe very much in so-called "strategic" bombing. They prefer to use their available planes in tactical support of the land troops, and this departure from the rule may mean that they have decided this time to kick Finland out of the war for good. (Note also that the Soviet High Command, whenever possible, tries to refrain from bombing the cities of friendly German-occupied countries, and does not bomb its own cities-in-German-hands at all, except for precision bombing of railroads and other such clearly defined objectives.)

All in all it is clear that the Red Army is taking advantage of the late frosts on the Northern wing to press home its offensive as far west as possible. It is a race with the thermometer.

AROUND THE WORLD

Belgium: Nazi Headache

London (by mail)

FOR centuries Belgium's strategic position has made it a battleground. Lying directly in the path of the Allied forces that will soon open the second front, it is once again occupying a key position in world history.

A popular resistance movement as great as any in Western Europe is wearing the enemy down, and is ready to strike hard when the Allies invade. Belgium has little rugged territory to conceal guerrilla bands. It is the most densely populated country in the world, and one of the most highly industrialized. But in Belgium, size for size, more Nazis and more collaborators are being killed off and more production sabotaged than in any other occupied country in Western Europe.

The Nazis once dreamed of a trouble-free Belgium as a frontline base, and counted on it to provide them with coal, armaments, and food. Instead, they are experiencing a popular resistance which is getting completely beyond their control. Von Falkenhausen, governor in Belgium and Northern France, has failed to stem the popular tide and has now been sacked by Hitler.

Let a Belgian quisling, de Winter, secretary-general of the ministry of food and agriculture, whose secret report, dated Oct. 7, 1943, on the sabotage of the food supply, has fallen into the hands of the patriots, bear witness to Belgian resistance.

In the province of Luxembourg, in Liege, Namur, and Charleroi, says de Winter, the collection of essential products for the food supply has become impossible. Many offices and factories have had to close, others work very irregularly, and no action has been taken for some months against cultivators who are in default. He tells of failure to grow special crops, especially rape-seed, from which the Germans obtain oil and explosives; refusal to renew contracts, and destruction of crops even by the peasants themselves. In the province of Hainault, crop deliveries in 1943 were only

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12.64 percent of the compulsory minimum.

Dairies and creameries have been burned down, the burning of offices has destroyed documents and made it impossible to take action against defaulters, some of whom have taken part in this sabotage. Insurance companies have received claims for scores of millions of francs for fire damage. Sabotage is done "in a very scientific manner," chemicals "with great destructive power" being used. Cultivators are encouraged to sell their produce direct to the inhabitants or to the guerrilla bands, but "are threatened with serious reprisals" if they charge excessive prices.

"Since the month of August," writes de Winter, "the great majority of the cultivators obey *instantaneously* (emphasis in the report) the orders given to them by the underground organizations." He notes "with horror" that the Walloon part of the country is "moving steadily towards complete disorganization." The increasing boldness of the sabotage organizations he attributes to the solidarity between them and the local population, "who give them help and information, and assist them, sometimes actively, in their exploits." The solidarity of the Belgian countryfolk has brought to nothing the German hopes of food and raw materials.

THE Germans have replied by increasing the terror, and they direct their fiercest blows at the Communists. In August 1943, they were able, as a result of treachery, to arrest the Communist secretary, Relecom, other leaders, and the editors of their underground paper *Le Drapeau Rouge* (the *Red Flag*). A fake issue of *Le Drapeau Rouge* was at once issued by the Gestapo, in which it said that all militants must stop their activity, as it was necessary at all costs to save their leaders from death. But at once a genuine *Drapeau Rouge* called for even harder blows at the enemy. When Belgium collapsed in 1940, only the Communist Party retained its organization. To it fell the task of organizing resistance. As a result of its efforts Catholics, Socialists, and Liberals are today united with it in the *Front de l'Independance*, which leads ninety percent of the underground press and all active resistance.

As in some other countries, fear and hatred of the Communists and of the popular forces, and tenderness for the reputation of a king, have held back full support for the people's resistance by the more conservative elements.

King Leopold is supposed to be a "prisoner" of the Germans in the Palace of Laaken, but there is good reason to doubt this. The king surrendered in May 1940. Breaking his oath to the constitution, he refused to accompany the government to London, and was denounced as a traitor by Paul-Henri Spaak, the Belgian foreign minister, and Hubert Pierlot, the prime minister. His action, they said, enabled them to understand many things that had happened in the past. This can only have referred to the king's earlier unconstitutional intervention in politics, which led to Belgium's foreign policy being changed from support of collective security to "neutrality" and reliance on the promises of Hitler.

IT IS being widely alleged in Belgium that the king has twice left Laaken to visit Hitler at Berchtesgaden, and was at the Salzburg musical festival. He is said to be visited regularly every week by Henri de Man, the president of the Socialist Party and a special favorite of his before the war. De Man, who in collaboration with the Germans, created UTMI, the Belgian fascist trade unions, has been regularly in touch with von Falkenhausen. Romsee, the quisling secretary-general for the interior, is also frequently at the Palace, and Belgian industrialists justify working for Germany by quoting the king's approval. ***In short, the king is regarded in Belgium as the head of the fifth column.***

Unfortunately, there are Belgians, some of them with influence in the government-in-exile, who regret the government's denunciation of 1940, foster the illusion that the king is a prisoner, and belittle the importance of the Independence Front. No sordid calculations or reactionary fears must be allowed to interfere with the fullest measure of help to the underground fighters, who can add several divisions to the Allied strength.

Both the Belgian and British governments are well enough informed to know that the heart of Belgian resistance is not in the Palace of Laaken, or in the offices of the big employers, but it is in the people themselves. Their policy must be based upon this knowledge.

MALCOLM MACEWEN.

Czechs in Tito's Ranks

THE Nazis themselves were the first ones to break the news of the existence of a Czechoslovak unit fighting in the ranks of General Tito's Army of Liberation. The Nazi controlled press in Bohemia and Moravia announced savage measures of retribution taken against the families of "traitors" who were said to have joined the "criminal partisan bands in Yugoslavia."

This was in August 1943. Some time later, the radio station of the Yugoslav Liberation Front "Slobodna Yugoslavija" (Free Yugoslavia) confirmed hitherto unconfirmed reports that a whole Czechoslovak unit was incorporated into the Liberation Army. Then, the Czechoslovak Battalion, "Jan Zizka," sent messages of greeting to the president of the Czechoslovak Republic, Dr. Benes, in London, and to the commander of the Czechoslovak Brigade at the eastern front, Colonel Ludvig Svoboda, hero of the battles below Kharkov and Kiev. The greetings were signed by the battalion commander, Josef Ruzicka.

Ruzicka is a Czech worker, one of the many Czech mechanics who went to work in the Balkans. He had formerly been at the famous armament factory of Skoda, at Pilsen, in Bohemia. The battalion under his command (which was given the proud name of the ancient Hussite hero, Jan Zizka, who chased the German invaders from Bohemian soil in the fifteenth century) is composed of Czech workers who were living in Yugoslavia and of numerous Czech patriots who managed to escape from Nazi-occupied Czechoslovakia and make their way through Austria and Hungary to the mountain regions held by the Yugoslav Partisans. Among those escaped from Nazi-occupied Czechoslovakia are many officers and men of the old Czechoslovak army with excellent military skill. Artillerists, tankists, sappers, and pilots of the old Czechoslovak army were of special value to the Yugoslav Partisan forces.

The Jan Zizka Battalion is steadily growing in numbers. Many Czechs and Slovaks who lived in other parts of Yugoslavia are trickling through the Nazi Ustashi lines in order to join the battalion. As in the Czechoslovak brigade in the Soviet Union, so also in the Jan Zizka Battalion there are represented all Czechoslovak nationalities and creeds. One of the companies is entirely made up of Slovaks, another one is predominantly Carpathian Russian.

The Czechoslovak battalion has taken part in several of the Liberation Army's big battles. It fought first in the hills in northern Slovenia against German occupation troops and captured much of the Nazis' machine guns and heavier equipment. Later on it fought in Croatia and Dalmatia. Among its proudest deeds was the liberation of a thousand hostages from a Nazi and Ustashi camp in the neighborhood of Karlovac.

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READERS' FORUM

Education for Democracy

TO NEW MASSES: This is a little story of a quiet incident in the war against fascism. No guns spoke. A fellow human being was simply restored to the dignity of a free man.

Crew members of a large transport were gathered on a small portion of an after deck, reserved for their special use, one afternoon when one of the Navy hospital corpsmen walked over to a Negro member of the merchant marine crew and said nastily: "Get off the deck, ——. Only white folk can come up here." The colored boy naturally leapt to attack his persecutor, but what might have developed into a minor race riot was prevented when a few cool heads separated them. The corpsman was taken bodily to his quarters.

Upon learning of the incident the delegate of the union to which the colored boy belonged issued a call for a membership meeting and asked the Navy doctor under whom the corpsman worked, to attend.

At the meeting the delegate quietly read the clause in the union's constitution which forbade discrimination against any member because of race, religion, or color. He then explained to the doctor, who held the rank of lieutenant-commander, that while the union had jurisdiction only over its own members it is determined to do everything in its power to prevent discrimination against its members by outsiders. In fact it feels so strongly about this issue that it will use whatever power it has to stop discrimination even if its own members are not involved.

He then related the incident of the afternoon. When he had finished the lieutenant-commander, whose suppressed anger was noticeable in the color of his face, sent for the corpsman. When the man came he was placed facing the meeting and asked whether or not he had made the offending remark. He mumbled that it was true and offered to make an apology.

The lieutenant-commander then lashed out against discrimination. "I know, as a doctor and as a Navy man, how base the idea of discrimination is. Disease doesn't discriminate, nor do bullets. We are all here on this ship together and when Tojo sends us one of his silver fish it's not going to pick and choose on the color line, or any other line. I'm no flag-waver, but it is my understanding that we are fighting a war against fascism and it seems to me that we have had a bad example of fascism right here on this ship this afternoon. And as long as I have anything to say on this ship there will be no discrimination here. Navy rules forbid me from putting a man in the brig for a period longer than ten days, but there is nothing in the rules that says I can't put a man in for ten days, let him out for a day and then put him back in again."

Turning to the corpsman he continued: "That will be your sentence until the ship reaches its home port and then you will get off the ship."

At this point the Negro brother got up and said that he didn't want to be the cause of the man spending the trip in the brig, that no doubt the man was a product of faulty education.

The lieutenant-commander asked the corpsman where his home was.

The man answered: "South Carolina."

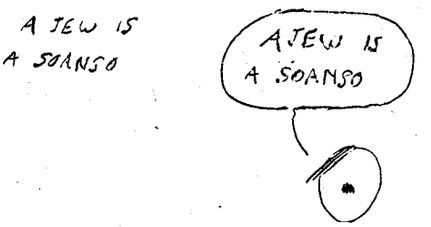
"It makes no difference," the officer said. "We are in the middle of a war. We are arguing with Hitler with guns. Some people can only learn the hard way. The sentence stands."

JAMES GANNON.

San Francisco.

Counter Propaganda

TO NEW MASSES: Undoubtedly many readers have been upset by seeing violent attacks on the Jews printed on the walls of public places. What can be done about this? Erasing is not very effective, because the person who made the attack and others who believe it remain unconscious of the fact that they are making themselves dupes of Hitler. A simple and effective way of pointing out that such sentiments are encouraged by our country's enemies is as follows: enclose the offending words or picture within a "balloon" (used in comic strips) and draw a simple picture of Hitler underneath. For example:



Anyone can draw a simple picture of Hitler such as the one above. This puts the idea over strongly and dramatically.

A READER.

Los Angeles.

Lieutenant Colonel Carlson

TO NEW MASSES: Over the period of the last few years, I have become exceptionally interested in the personality and career of Lieutenant-Colonel Carlson of the US Marines. Especially since my past five months in the Army does this officer seem to me one of the most remarkable men in our armed forces.

My interest was first aroused when in the course of selecting books for student reading I happened to glance through *Twin Stars of China*, which related Colonel Carlson's experience as an observer with the former Chinese Red Army some years back. At that time the author's attitude and his understanding of the role played by the Chinese Communists were most remarkable. I believe that these were the causes of his resignation from the Marines at that time.

Later he was recalled to active service, and I remember being struck by an article of his which praised trade unionists as making the best soldiers because of their superior understanding of the issues at stake. Within the past few months *Fortune* magazine and the *Reader's Digest* in articles dealing with war exhaustion (or what erroneously used to be called shell shock), made mention of the unusually low incidence of this nervous disorder among Carlson's Raiders and gave as one of the major causes the fact that his men were given a real understanding of what they were fighting for. The *Reader's Digest* went into more detail and mentioned, among other things, Colonel Carlson's source of inspiration in the Chinese Red Army and also his unusual treatment of men and officers and their relationship. It cited his development of initiative in the men through discussion, self-criticism, and understanding.

Altogether, Colonel Carlson seems to be the type of officer from whom all of us can draw both inspiration and much understanding of the problem of morale.

As a soldier in the Army, I have seen with regret many splendid opportunities slip for building a higher morale among men, a deeper appreciation of the issues in the war, and a bettering of the relationship between men and officers. This I believe is true in spite of a splendid program of physical and military education.

For all these reasons, may I suggest that you have an article on this American soldier?

PVT. B. R.

Doctors of "North Star"

TO NEW MASSES: It seems to me that all of the comments I have read about *The North Star* have missed one important point that Miss Hellman has made. The reviewers question the release of the Soviet doctor after his attempt on the life of the Nazi.

To me, this was no mere dramatic contrivance. The whole character of the "great" Nazi doctor, as built up in the story, was a direct answer to the sort of thing that was criticized so sharply in *The Moon is Down* and the Albert Bein play. Here we have our great scientist, so superior to the ordinary Nazi, so apologetic for what he does, justifying everything on the basis of the needs of the war. The speech of the Soviet doctor at the end gives the true evaluation of such people. We see them, at last, not as mild philosophers, arousing the sympathy of the people of the democracies; we see them, rather, as the beasts they are in reality, the most dangerous of all because of their knowledge, the most brutal because of their conceit.

Miss Hellman has made her point deliberately. The release of the Soviet doctor was in keeping with the character of the "superior" Nazi, his contempt for the man attacked, his arrogant confidence that a fellow physician would never attack *him*.

Such is my interpretation of the episode. Anyway, what do you *think*?

BEATRICE BLOSSER.

New York.

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The Road to Teheran

By CORLISS LAMONT

THE ROAD TO TEHERAN: The Story of Russia and America, 1781-1943, *by Foster Rhea Dulles. Princeton University Press. $2.50.*

THERE have been a number of first-rate studies of special phases or periods in the field of American-Russian relations, books like Frederick L. Schuman's *American Policy Toward Russia Since 1917* and Joseph Davies' *Mission to Moscow*. But until now there has not been available any one volume, either well done or otherwise, giving the full history, stretching over more than a century and a half, of this vital and significant subject.

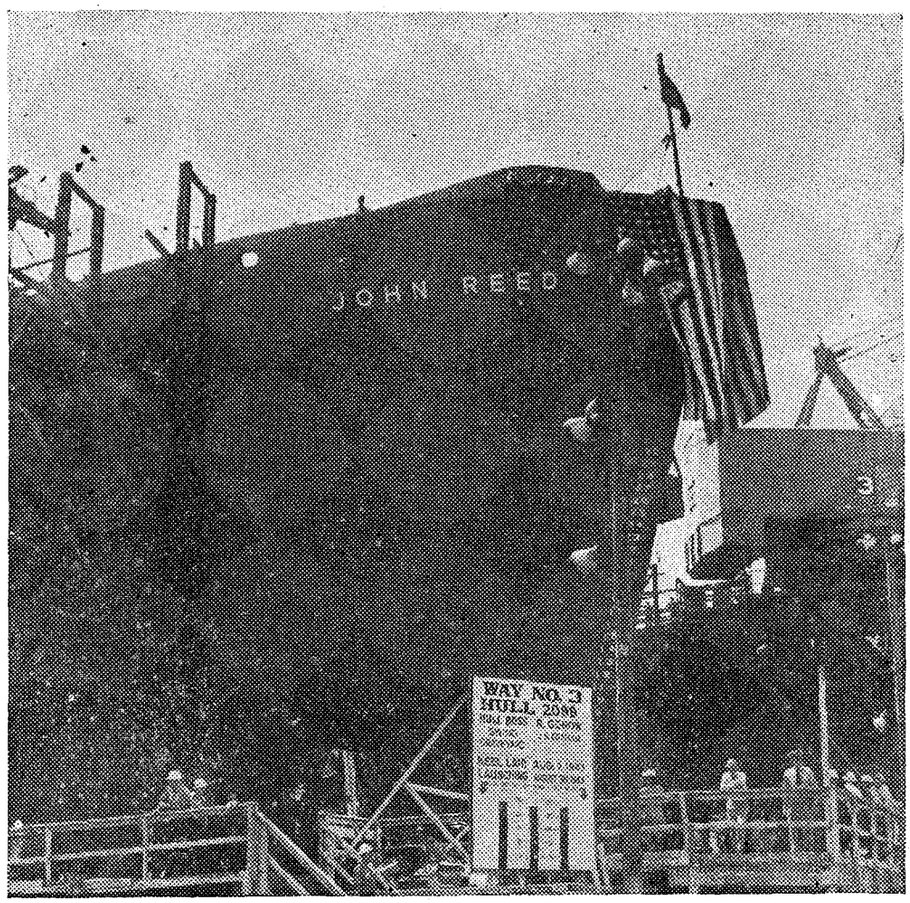
Dr. Foster Rhea Dulles, for some time a specialist on the Far East and at present professor of history at Ohio State University, has ably and impartially filled this long-felt need in *The Road to Teheran*. His fact-crammed book is simply written, fairly brief (less than 300 pages), and while explaining clearly the main issues involved in the complex story of American-Russian relations, avoids the atmosphere of heat and controversy that so often handicaps understanding in this field. For these reasons Dr. Dulles' work ought to be of great value not only to scholars, but also to the average American who today more than ever before is seeking the truth about the Soviet Union and its place in the world.

Professor Dulles starts with the mission to St. Petersburg in 1781 of Francis Dana, envoy of the Continental Congress to the Empress Catherine, and great-great-grandfather of our contemporary specialist on Soviet drama, H. W. L. Dana. Though Catherine did not receive Francis Dana and though formal Russian recognition of the American Republic did not come until 1809, Dr. Dulles corrects the widespread impression that this long delay was entirely Russia's fault. "Russia actually favored the independence of the United States," the author points out, "and the further delay in recognition was a consequence of American policy quite as much as Russian policy."

One of the most interesting things in this early period was the cordial relationship between Thomas Jefferson and Czar Alexander I of Russia. The two men entered into a lively correspondence. And Jefferson for a time considered Alexander a real liberal, describing him as "a sovereign whose ruling passion is the advancement of the happiness and prosperity of his people; and not of his people only, but who can extend his eye and good will to a distant and infant nation." There can be no doubt that the outstanding Russian Romanovs, like Peter the Great, Catherine the Great, and Alexander himself, had a certain sweep and vision about them that was sometimes akin to native American idealism.

ONE of the first steps in the direction of what we at present know as the principle of collective security was Alexander I's proposal in 1815 for a Holy Alliance to guarantee international peace. This idea was at first widely hailed in America and received the formal endorsement of sixteen peace organizations in various states. Though essentially, as Sir Bernard Pares says, the Holy Alliance was "a monarchs' League of Nations," Czar Alexander intended a wider scope for it, since he sounded out the United States about becoming a member. The American government of course declined to join and the Holy Alliance soon became an altogether reactionary organization with the aim of crushing the onward march of democracy throughout the world and resorting to war itself in order to do so. Its possible intervention in Latin America to restore Spanish dominion was one of the prime reasons for the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823.

The high point of American friendliness toward Russia during the nineteenth century came during the Civil War after Czar Alexander II freed the serfs (1861) and after Russian naval squadrons appeared unexpectedly in the harbors of New York and San Francisco (1863). The effect of this visit by Russian naval units was greatly to encourage the North at a moment when Britain and France were considering recognition of the Confederacy. But Professor Dulles makes clear that the original Russian purpose in this move was



Launching of the Liberty ship "John Reed" at Richmond, Calif. Reed, author of the classic "Ten Days That Shook the World," was a pioneer in building American-Soviet friendship and one of the founders and editors of "The Masses."

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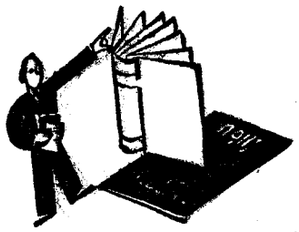

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to prevent the Czar's fleet from getting bottled up by the British in case war broke out.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century and during the first part of the twentieth, relations between the United States and Russia cooled somewhat both because of temporary rivalries in the Far East and because the American public became increasingly aware of the reactionary policies of the czarist regime, particularly its persecution of the Jews. The most serious crisis between republican America and czarist Russia arose over the official anti-Semitism of Nicholas II in the decade preceding the outbreak of the first world war. And the fact that the Soviet government has completely reversed the old czarist policy toward minorities and has established full racial democracy is merely one of many developments since 1917 showing how much closer Soviet Russia is to the fundamental democratic aspirations of the American people than was the Romanov tyranny.

I WISH there were space to discuss Dr. Dulles' excellent chapters on American-Soviet relations in the Far East, on Secretary Seward's purchase of Alaska, on Allied intervention in the USSR during the years following the Communist Revolution, on the great Red scare in the United States, on American recognition of the Soviet Union, on the failure of a united front among the peace-loving peoples to maintain collective security and prevent the second world war, and on the final grand alliance to smash Hitler. While I do not agree with every one of the author's interpretations throughout this large range of topics, I believe that on the whole his conclusions are sound and to be recommended to every American and Russian who wishes to see our two countries working together closely for victory and for peace.

As this book makes plain, the chief factors that have kept the United States and Russia friends throughout the 162 years since the American republic won its freedom have been their possession of common foes, Great Britain in the nineteenth century, Germany and Japan in the twentieth; and the related consideration that global geography has made our two nations each for the other "a potential friend in the rear of potential enemies" in both Europe and Asia. The meaning of Teheran is that henceforth the United States and the Soviet Union will cooperate not simply *against* mutual enemies, but *for* mutual goals such as the preservation of world peace and the furtherance of normal international trade—goals whose fulfillment is as essential for all mankind as for specific national interests.

Another positive aspect of the road beyond Teheran, and a necessary foundation for it, is that the Americans and the Russians will understand each other better than ever before. Despite the traditional friendliness of our two countries and the cooperation of our two governments in time of crisis, it cannot be said that our respective peoples as a whole have ever known much about each other. Obviously during the past quarter-century Americans have known less of the truth about the Soviet Union than about any other great power. And toward that mutual peoples' understanding that is so essential for implementing the agreements of statesmen and state departments Foster Rhea Dulles' *The Road to Teheran* makes a notable contribution.

General of the Underground

HARRIET TUBMAN, *by Earl Conrad. Associated Publishers. Washington, D.C. $3.25.*

HARRIET TUBMAN is one of the most remarkable figures in American history, a woman whose thrilling exploits rank her as a first-class heroine. She was one of the giants of the Negro liberation movement. Earl Conrad has performed a genuine service in setting down the rich record of Harriet Tubman's life, the first adequate account in recent years and one which will serve as the basis for a fresh evaluation of her importance. Hitherto Harriet Tubman has been known largely to students of the Underground Railroad, to historical specialists and to progressive Negro people who have named their clubs in her honor. Now, thanks to this biography, the rewarding story of her life may become a part of the living heritage of freedom for which we are fighting.

Harriet Tubman's life began in 1820 on a Maryland plantation; it ended in 1913 in Auburn, N. Y. in a home she herself had founded for aged Negroes. In those ninety-three years she was successively a slave, a conductor on the Underground Railroad, an Abolitionist leader, a recruiter for John Brown's Harper's Ferry army, a Civil War nurse, scout and guerrilla fighter in South Carolina, leader in the women's rights movement with Susan B. Anthony, active in Negro religious movements. Yet withal, she remained a modest, almost self-effacing woman; her greatness never overcame her; she was content to let her deeds speak for her.

Above all Harriet Tubman was a vigorous, courageous, and resourceful organizer. John Brown called her a "general" and to others she was known as "the Moses of her people." Both descriptions fit the woman, who, after emancipating herself from slavery, made nineteen trips into the slave country to free other Negroes. In the eight years she was a conductor on the Underground Railroad, as she later recalled, "I never ran my train off the track and I never lost a passenger." Every one of those nineteen trips, as Mr. Conrad describes them, "was no less than a military campaign, a raid upon an entrenched and an armed enemy."

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Harriet Tubman perceived, more than many others of her time, the importance of the Underground. In Mr. Conrad's words, "Harriet knew that each abduction from the South was a recruit to the anti-slavery organization in the North. Every time white sympathizers with the road were brought into activity to help along fugitives, the Negro gained allies or strengthened those he already had. Harriet knew that the Underground was the immediate struggle. Emancipation might be the chief aim of Garrison, of Douglass, and of many others, and this indeed was her chief aim as well, but the Underground was a process that would develop the North, and organize and educate it for the time when it would have to face a belligerent South."

The story of Harriet Tubman's one-woman raids on the South makes spine-tingling reading. They compare, in their way, with some of the exploits of the European underground and the Russian guerrillas. Again as a scout and guerrilla leader with the Union Army in South Carolina in 1863, Harriet Tubman exhibited her genius for energetic leadership in her direction of the successful Combahee expedition. This expedition was essentially a guerrilla foray into South Carolina to lay waste rich plantation lands, arouse the slaves, and bring back recruits for Union Negro detachments stationed at Hilton Head. Mr. Conrad's account of the episode, the brilliant strategy behind it, and Harriet Tubman's own role as a soldier with a musket, is high adventure.

While the heritage of Harriet Tubman has a special significance for the Negro people, it also contains some profound lessons for the whites. That heritage and those lessons lie implicit in her life: The importance of struggle by the Negro people themselves for freedom and democracy; the need for inter-racial unity, black and white cooperation, to attain progressive ends; and the role of women, Negro, and white, in the Negro liberation movement.

Mr. Conrad's *Harriet Tubman* is an invaluable source of information about a truly great and significant American.

STEPHEN PEABODY.

Aid to Our Allies

LEND-LEASE, Weapon for Victory, *by Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. Macmillan. $3.00.*

THIS report to the American public on the history and workings of lend-lease provides a revealing discussion of policy and accomplishment of a major war agency up to June 30, 1943. By then, the United States had spent almost $13,000,000,000 on lend-lease purchases and shipments. But history moves faster than the written records. By the time the book was published, lend-lease figures had swelled to over $19,000,000,000, while Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., the author and former head of

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the lend-lease agency, had been promoted to Assistant Secretary of State. During the next months, lend-lease continued to flow, representing a continual expansion of this great contribution to the world struggle against fascism.

Mr. Stettinius' history and description of lend-lease activities is the story of global war on the economic front, a chronicle of the close collaboration achieved within the United Nations against the common enemy. The book is surprisingly good reading for what at first glance might seem to be merely a factual account. The drama of pumping military and other essential supplies all over the world to help stem the tide of aggression and to provide the strength to pound the aggressors back toward their own bases—and finally to bring about their complete destruction—is inspiring even when glimpsed through the matter-of-fact and deliberately bare report of the agency's chief. Mr. Stettinius has of course excluded all controversial material. He does not discuss the struggles that occurred—and still go on—within the lend-lease administration, nor does he touch on the difficulties placed in the way of smooth and efficient functioning of lend-lease by those officials who have remained stubbornly anti-British or anti-Chinese or anti-Soviet. He does not mention the reasons behind President Roosevelt's stern and uncompromising letters in 1942 demanding that petty obstacles and prejudices be brushed aside to speed shipments to our allies.

Mr. Stettinius makes short shrift of those who object to lend-lease because of "expense." For how can expense be reckoned when the safety of the nation is involved? He answers the questions of the how and why of lend-lease, what it has meant in the joint struggle against our enemies, how it works. He provides full accounts of the battle for the sea lanes and air lanes. The book is generously illustrated with well-selected photographs and with lucid and exceedingly helpful charts. This record provides invaluable documentation of the war. It is the answer to the wholesale attacks on lend-lease made in the past, and of far greater importance, it is the answer to the attacks that are still to be made in the next months when Congress is asked to extend the lend-lease authority once again.

In the experience gained from lend-lease, Mr. Stettinius believes there is guidance to be found in approaching the problems of the postwar world. "The principle of mutual aid in mutual self-interest that is embodied in the Lend-Lease Act must live on," he concludes. "Today there is more unity of purpose and of action among freedom-loving peoples than ever before. In that unity we can find the strength to build a peaceful world in which freedom and opportunity will be secure for all." The Teheran conference reached the same conclusion. It is Mr. Stettinius' contention that Article VII of the Master Lend-Lease Agreement providing for "participation by all countries of like mind directed to the expansion . . . of production, employment, and the exchange and consumption of goods which are the material foundations of the liberty and welfare of all peoples," establishes a pattern for peace-time trade. Through the unity established in the war for survival and liberation emerges the perspectives of unity after the war is won.

BRUCE MINTON.

Brief Reviews

AVALANCHE, *by Kay Boyle. Simon & Shuster. $2.50.*

KAY BOYLE'S knowledge of mountain-climbing and weather conditions in the French Alps and her power to define clearly the place of her story leave one with impressions much more lively than the characters she has drawn. Their perfection is that of wax figures, sketched and garbed for the make-up artist in Hollywood to bring to life. Most of them are doing things bravely and spiritedly that we deeply approve of, but, while the novel's action has plausibility, it lacks punch. These people are ever lithe and graceful, the superfluous weight of character having been sheared away to give them the bounce her plot requires. The result is a series of "surprise" climaxes rubber-stamped for facile production.

It is, to say the least, unfortunate that a book which shows us how French patriots in one region are working for the liberation of their country should be so lacking in its power to arouse and inspire, in spite of the competence of the writing.

THEY SHALL INHERIT THE EARTH, *by Otto Zoff, with an introduction by Dorothy Canfield Fisher. John Day. $3.00.*

THIS book is a microchronicle of the misery of millions of children in Europe and Asia. By a quick coverage of most of the warring countries, with only a few examples from each, *They Shall Inherit the Earth* indicates the sickening panorama of human wreckage and some of its counter-currents.

The Soviet Union, England, and China have made efforts to lighten the children's war burden, and these are partially described—the new social services in England, the enormous network of adoptions in Russia, the Children's Dramatic Corps in China, are all reviewed. But Mr. Zoff's main insight is into the way children have begun to turn and fight back: not only the partisans in Russia and Yugoslavia, but bands of "little wolves" in Greece and wandering gangs in Poland. The conclusion is that children can take a much greater part in the adult world than has been assigned to them in the past century.

Showdown in Washington

(*Continued from page 3*)

will get a new Secretary of the Treasury." It is as simple as that.

Mr. Lippmann is quite right in saying that Congress will not listen to Morgenthau or Paul, but just how he managed to determine that neither of these men is an authority on war finance is as uncertain as his conclusion that Congress—this Congress—will listen to a new Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Paul happens to be an acknowledged tax authority, who before coming to Washington was for years a member of a prominent Wall Street law firm. That hasn't saved him from being treated as Martin Dies treats anyone suspected of being to the left of fascism. And how much substance is there in Mr. Lippmann's assertion that "Congress listens very intently and cordially to men of proven knowledge of their field and ability in action—to men like Marshall and King, Stimson, Ickes, and Baruch"? Congress may listen to these men—but it does as it pleases. It is true that in strictly military affairs even this Congress does not dare openly to defy the will of the nation. But did Congress last year accept the pleas of General Marshall and Admiral King not to delay the draft of fathers? Has it listened to Secretary Stimson's statement that the Army could not properly administer a "states' rights" ballot? Did it respond to Secretary Ickes' objections to the firing of three outstanding progressives, Robert Morss Lovett, William E. Dodd, Jr., and Goodwin Watson? And who was it who lambasted Mr. Baruch's report the other day if not the man who was so largely responsible for the tax bill, Senator George, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee?

It is not the personnel of the Treasury Department or of the Presidency that needs changing, but the personnel of Congress. Such a change is urgently dictated by the perspective of Teheran. Such a change is absolutely essential for the speediest victorious conclusion of the war and for the building of a firm structure of postwar economy and international relations. "Dear Alben" Barkley, who was never a great oak where administration policy was concerned, and who on that fateful day last week bowed to the howling wind of reaction, was a mere instrument of larger forces. The battle for the future is on. The President can't win that battle single-handed; he needs support. The CIO and AFL have shown commendable leadership by standing behind him in the tax fight. But many more organizations and individuals must be enlisted as active soldiers in this battle—and we hope those soldiers will also include business men who understand where their true interests lie. A fourth term for Roosevelt and the retirement of the Rankins and Tafts from Congress must be America's order of the day.

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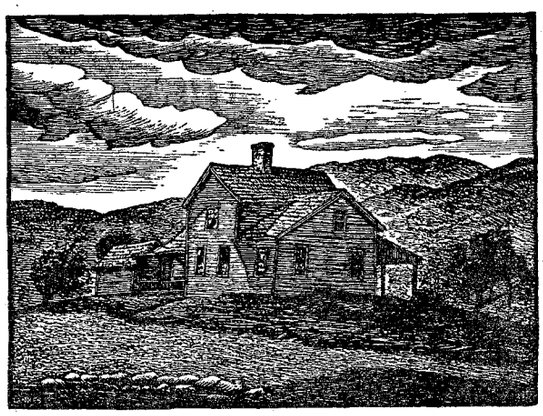
Chaim Gross



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SIGHTS and SOUNDS

Movies of the Week

By JOSEPH FOSTER

WARNER BROTHERS' studio continues its win-the-war ways with two new films, *Passage to Marseille* and *In Our Time*, both solidly based on the proposition that what the world needs is more struggle against Hitlerism.

Passage to Marseille, although more explicit in its statement, is the weaker of the two. At its core, the picture is the story of a French freighter. On board are fascists and democrats. The struggle for control of the freight, a valuable shipment of nickel, makes of the boat a perfect microcosm, reflecting the major struggle of the world at large. The fight, confined at first to argument, flares into violence after the skipper, an anti-fascist, picks up five derelicts in an open boat. The derelicts, escaped convicts from Devil's Island, are bent upon fighting Germany and give important aid to the forces of good. The scenes during this part of the film are sharply drawn and well constructed although it is regrettable that so little action, proportionately, is centered on the boat. To sketch in the character of the convicts and their leader, a former anti-Munich newspaper publisher, the flash-back device is employed. More, a flashback within a flashback is used. This technique, as used here, escapes confusion by the skin of its teeth, and lessens the power of the story. The line of narration is so chopped up that the cumulative force of a number of fine dramatic incidents never gets an opportunity to gather itself.

Far too much time is spent on the background material. By the time the film gets around to the actual passage to Marseille, the picture is almost unwound. Why so much time was spent on the details of the escape by the convicts from the island prison only Mr. Wallis, the producer, can say. (Incidentally, it's time that so progressive a studio got away from the five-men-in-a-boat-that-will-hold-only-four situation, and the attendant palaver as to who shall stay behind.)

The team of Humphrey Bogart, Claude Rains, Peter Lorre, and Sidney Greenstreet, used in varying combinations to excellent purpose since the *Maltese Falcon*, is again an effective combination in *Passage to Marseille*. As a militant opponent of the Daladier grifters, Bogart survives the expositional faults of the film. He makes the most of his lines which among other things label the Munich hatchet men as Nazi flunkeys in forthright fashion. It is too bad that a lot of effective writing was washed down the drain of overstyled presentation.

IN SEARCHING about for a fresh center of anti-Nazi conflict, writers Howard Koch and Ella St. Joseph have hit upon pre-war Poland. As in *Song of Russia*, a sweeping romance provides the axel for the wheel of social and political argument. The love interest is somewhat improbable as a literal event but the producers make it amply clear that personal relationships throughout are to serve merely as dramatic symbols. In fact, no time is lost in establishing this intention.

An attractive girl, typical of middle-class liberal England, comes to Warsaw on a shopping tour. She meets a young Polish count, scion of a family loaded with estates and feudal manners. Their marriage and the democratic reforms they initiate among their peasants collide with the ideas of the conservative members of the family. Thus is born the conflict that provides the serious stuff of the picture. The keeper of the keys to the family vault is one Count Pavel, leader of the Polish Peace-In-Our-Time boys who consort freely with the Nazis. Like Bernard Shaw, who feels that the quality of youth is much too good for the young folk, the count brays that democracy is a good thing, but dangerous in the hands of the people. A balancing antithetical symbol, although not so strong, is an uncle who encourages the newlyweds. When their courage is at its lowest, he urges the nephew to hold onto the girl and her ideals. She is new and fresh and represents the death of that Poland that has its feet in this century and its head in the last.

Within the framework of this family struggle, the reactionary Pavel attacks the Soviet Union, the student movement, agrarian reforms and similar items malodorous to his aristocratic nostrils. As counter-argument the film explicitly shows the danger of appeasement. It indicates also that no democracy is possible in the future without amelioration of the peasant's lot. In fact, it is made fairly clear that a prosperous and independent Poland will never come into being so long as there remains a feudal landed aristocracy.

The conflict grows beyond the family arena. The Nazis become the main enemy and the characters are now political symbols. At this point the picture is weak. As symbols of a future Poland, better samples than the count and his wife might have been selected. So long as he is fighting for his future personal happiness, sharing his crops with the peasants, he is valid. As the leader of a regenerated Poland, he is a little hard to take. His world is still that of the aristocracy. Only five months before the Nazi invasion he is capable of the following conversational tidbit. He is asked by the girl if he doesn't think that horses are ineffectual against tanks. Not if it rains, is his tactical answer. In case of rain, the tanks would bog down, the Polish cavalry would slash away and the tanks wouldn't be worth a plugged zloty. But what if it didn't rain, persists the girl. In that event, says our swain, there would be no flowers, and he tosses her forthwith a small corsage. O, l'amour, O, happy Warsaw, Paris of the north! Incidentally, this trust in rain is no glib piece of charivari. When the Germans overrun the country, the natives bewail the dryness of the roads, and pray for rain to turn the tide. It is as though a lack of clouds made military history in 1939.

The character of the pro-Nazi Pavel is only partially realized. The appeaser uncle seems horrified by the turn of events. There is nothing to live for, his world is gone, he exclaims brokenly, as he makes ready to sit it out on the Riviera for the duration. Now it is possible that some appeasers were fooled by the Nazis, but the pals of Beck and Smigly-Rydz, who associated with the ape men of Berchtesgaden, knew exactly what they were up to. The pre-war world of the Polish gentry is fast disappearing, but judging from the antics of the government-in-exile, they have not yet admitted it.

I dwell upon these points because they prevent the film as a whole from measuring up to the timeliness of its subject matter

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and to the brilliant acting and directing that make the most out of the script.

★

A CRIME pulp once published the picture of a man with bunched jaw muscles and hard eyes, and underneath, the caption, "The criminal type, the perfect killer." The owner of the face discovered it and sued. It turned out that he was a dealer in insecticides and the picture was snapped at a time when he was frustrated by a cockroach that wouldn't die. Hence the jaw muscles. In a subsequent issue, the magazine had to admit that you couldn't go by faces. I mention this story because it shows how much difficulty you run into if you forget that fact. The detective of *Phantom Lady*, latest Hollywood chiller to reach Broadway, never forgets it, and he thus saves himself considerable grief. "It ain't how a man looks but what's in his mind," is the way he puts it, and that, fellow fans, is the key to the film's leading homicidal character. He is a psychological killer, who, when composed, is a respected sculptor of international reputation. But when his mind clouds up, look out. Then his fingers begin to writhe, his hands take on an independent existence, as he himself explains, and when an accommodating neck comes within reach, there is nothing left to do but call in the coroner. Before the law catches up with him, he has garrotted the wife of his best friend, a drummer, and all but does in the heroine of the film.

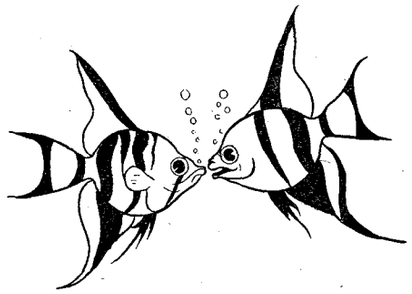
In the creation of suspense, the concentration on detail, the selection of incident, *Phantom Lady* is very much in the Hitchcock tradition. In its pursuit of a single clue that will free an innocent man of the murder rap, the film is reminiscent of *The Girl Was Young*. As a matter of fact, Miss Joan Harrison, the producer, was the associate of Mr. Hitchcock in England, and that fact probably accounts for many of the latter's tricks.

If you like your chills neat, then *Phantom Lady* is your dish. Franchot Tone bounces around somewhat uncomfortably in the role of killer, but the events are so spun out as to enable him to make you blow hot and cold as the plot unwinds.

Ella Raines does well as beauty to the Tone beast, and others of the cast carry out their assignments in the spirit of the story. As a good measure, a spell of hot music is included for those that like their suspense mixed with jazz.

★

"NORWAY REPLIES," at the Stanley Theater, is the first official report of Norway's participation in the war. It is a valuable documentary, adding considerably to our meager information of that country's fight against her invaders. The film opens with some beautiful night shots of a Commando raid. The raiding party, composed of Scottish, English, and Norwegian



soldiers, lands amidst the spectacular bursting of star shells. Even after the light from the shells disappears, a soft afterglow remains—a fine study of dark and light.

The remainder of the film shows in detail the training undergone by Norwegian air cadets in the various centers established for that purpose in the United States and Canada. When the cadets have won their wings they are assigned to the bombing of strategic Nazi centers in their homeland. A considerable amount of footage is devoted to Norway's merchant marine. A nation based on maritime economy, she owns the fourth largest navy in the world, and the third largest merchant fleet. Her vessels are put to use transporting valuable cargo to the United Nations' ports. Some of the most thrilling shots are made as cameramen record the adventures of a fifty-six boat convoy sailing from America to the Mediterranean.

If I were to make any criticism of the film, I would say that its form is too loose. It tends to dwell overlong on unimportant shots—men getting in and out of an airplane cockpit, a car going up the road, camp buildings and the like. With expert cutting, the slow parts could have been eliminated. I was also disappointed to discover so little of the film devoted to the mainland of Norway itself, and its underground struggles.

This last complaint is answered emphatically by a short subject, *Before the Raid*, issued by the British Ministry of Information, and appearing on the program as "an added attraction." It is a moving and authentic account of how one small fishing village settled accounts with the local Nazi garrison. The actors are grizzled fishermen and their hard-working families. When the Nazis first come to Nordsen, life on the surface seems unchanged. But as the Nazis appropriate the food stocks, hunger becomes dominant in the village. Shots of children, juxtaposed against a Nazi sentry cramming himself with food, illustrate the character of their plight most effectively. The hope of the village rests on the returning fishermen and their catch, but the Nazis take over all the fish brought in. The fishermen revolt, but they really get their turn at bat when they wipe out a Nazi patrol sent out with the boats to supervise the fishing. With nothing to aid them but their skill in maneuvering their boats, they bear down on the patrol boat that attempts to stand them off with machine guns and automatic rifles. The filming of this sequence results in some of the finest movie making yet to appear. The simple, lined, determined faces of the fishermen, their reluctant submission to Nazi commands until pushed around too much, the unpretentious courage of their acts creates an unforgettable document of a people, unarmed and peaceful, wiping out their tormentors.

Before the Raid also deals in proper fashion with the quisling of the village. Together with *Norway Replies*, for which it supplies an opportune supplement, it creates an instructive and compelling session for moviegoers.

Hollywood Letter

Hollywood.

A COUPLE of straws in the West wind may give you an idea of the first reaction out here to the Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals. Top studio executives find new names for the outfit every day—the Motion Picture Bund, the Brain Storm Troopers, and the Fighting SB's are among the current tags, indicating that important producers and studio people are well aware of the MPA's real nature. This is significant, for there was a time when certain studio executives were so intimidated by the red herring that they willingly joined the herring hunters. That time is past.

But the MPA isn't to be laughed off so easily. It is attempting to terrify producers and writers with the threat of a blacklist of progressives. It has standard bearers whose names "count" in the industry—and it has others who have shown that discretion is the better part of cowardice by remaining discreetly silent for the time being.

Among those who have come out into the open, to the extent of signing a "statement of principles" are Sam Wood, the director, Walt Disney, Cedric Gibbons, Norman Taurog, Clarence Brown, "Colonel" Rupert Hughes (who broadcasts NAMzi propaganda for the Hearst press), Morrie Ryskind, the funny fellow, King Vidor, and many minor pipsqueaks.

The boys are frankly out to "drive the Reds out of the Hollywood"—to prevent them from slipping Red propaganda into the films—by which they obviously mean propaganda for democracy. The producers, as a whole, have correctly understood the nature of the attack. This is not an attack on Communism in Hollywood any more than it is an attack on fascism. It is an attack on the industry itself. It is an attack wielded by the same forces who first attempted to prevent the formation of the Screen Writers Guild by setting up a company outfit called The Screen Playwrights. (It died.) The same outfit who attacked the industry a couple of years ago and wangled a congressional investigation. The

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same outfit who attacked Warner Brothers for *Mission to Moscow* and other "Red" and "fourth term" propaganda. The same outfit who attacked the recent Writers' Congress at the University of California, in Los Angeles.

State Sen. Jack Tenney? Sure—he's involved, too. And they say a certain producer who is out to glorify a certain aviation "hero" is involved. And they say a certain US ambassador is in the wings somewhere, pulling the strings that manipulate Sam Wood. Sam Wood directed *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. And Sam's great star, Gary Copper, attended the first MPA meeting (he and Sam are business partners, incidentally). Disney is Disney—and the Screen Cartoonists Guild can tell you more about him than I can. And there is also a little MGM clique of fascists involved, who are part of the mainspring of this new Hollywood axis, and give it what drive and emotional power it has. They are also violently anti-Semitic.

Typical of the "organizers" the MPA is using is one oaf of a hack screen writer whose approach runs like this: "What are you, left or right?" The writer approached, in this instance, replied, "I'm probably further left than you think." To which the organizer said, "Too bad; I was going to ask you to join a very reactionary organization." The same organizer was asked, by another writer, "What about the anti-Semitic aspects of this organization of yours?" The organizer replied, "You'll notice we were pretty smart. We have a couple Jews in the outfit." Smart, eh?

It goes without saying that the Alliance has already received loud support—from the Hearst press, of course. Also from the Los Angeles American Legion, whose local "Americanism" committee congratulated the MPA on its formation and asked it to affiliate. The MPA promptly accepted.

Feelers have been put out by the Alliance toward the Knights of Columbus, the Masonic Order, and—no doubt to prove it's not anti-Semitic—to B'nai Brith. No report yet about results.

The MPA has not yet had the guts to come out with a concrete program for action. But there is no doubt in my mind that considerable forces are stirring here, and that the MPA will find itself facing a heavy barrage in the very near future, from practically all the progressive studio executives, unions, and associated organizations of the people up and down the coast. In which case we will be spared the unsurprising spectacle of knowing who the Big Names really are. They'll keep their heads down when the barrage opens up, and let the Sam Woods, the Fred Niblo, Jrs., Howard Emmett Rogers', King Vidors, and Casey Robinsons, take it on the chin. That is a typical fascist tactic and this is a typical fascist outfit.

N. A. Daniels.

Philosophy and Music

Moscow (by cable)

THE fundamental principle of Russian music is the consistent promotion of musical realism. It is opposed to any kind of ear-pleasing (the ironical term used by Balakirev, the famous Russian composer), to hedonistic esthetics, to the conception of music as amusement or "sound gastronomy."

Russian musical realism is built on broad philosophical generalizations, boldly posing so-called "eternal questions," and is through and through penetrated with burning moral pathos and passionate love of truth. In the West, European music of ethical principle was dominant in only some of the great musicians—precisely why they usually remained in tragic solitude (Beethoven, Mahler, and—to some extent—Berlioz.) Russian music is quite different—the ethical principle has been the leading motive in all the epochs of its historical evolution, irrespective of the struggle between individual artistic groupings.

The range of ideological generalizations and philosophically ethical pathos enabled the great Russian composer, Glinka, from his very first steps, to rise high above the French, Italian, and German opera of his time and to compose his immortal "patriotic, heroically tragic" opera, *Ivan Susanin*, an unparalleled event in the musical theater of that time. From *Ivan Susanin* runs the path to the great national music tragedies of Moussorgsky, *Boris Godunov* and *Khovanshchina*.

Unlike the historical operas of the Meyerbeer type, in which historical realism is subordinated to the decorator, costumer, property-man, stage-setter, and to lighting effects, Russian operas of historical events are not used as a tag for pompous and spectacular effects; Russian historical opera deeply penetrates the life of the masses of people. Hence the role of the chorus in Russian opera—as it were, the mouthpiece of the people's consciousness. The place of the chorus in Russian opera is quite different in its dramatic and musical effect from the chorus in Western opera in the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. Compare it, for instance, with the atrophied role of the chorus in Wagner's "Ring of the Nibelungen," despite its epic claims.

From Glinka, from the opera *Ruslan and Ludmila*, proceeds the renaissance of the art of musical epic. West European philosophic esthetics of the nineteenth century denied the possibilty of the epic renaissance in modern times. According to Hegel's opinion, the novel has taken the place of the epic. This notwithstanding, the great tradition of epic symphonies was created in the nineteenth century. The world-wide historic significance of Russian classical music consists in this—it has not only brought back to life all hitherto existing types of opera and symphony but was also the cre-

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ator of epic symphonism absent in the West. A straight line leads from *Ruslan and Ludmila* to Borodin's opera, *Prince Igor*, and his *Titanic Symphony* and to the fairy-tale epic art of Rimsky Korsakov.

In its historic development, Russian music is indissolubly bound up with the great traditions of Russian classical literature. Russian opera of all time is inspired by, and draws its librettos from, the poet Pushkin: folklore—epical (*Ruslan and Ludmila*), dramatic—portrayal of habits and customs (*Mermaid* by Zhski), romantic (*Stone Guest* by the same composer), historical tragedy (*Boris Godunov* by Moussorgsky), lyrical (*Eugene Onegin*, by Tchaikovsky), psychological (*Queen of Spades* by the same composer), fairytale (*Fairytale about Czar Sultan* and *Golden Cock*, by Rimsky Korsakov), and others. The comic strain in Russian opera is drawn from Gogol's writings. The emotionally glowing psychological symphonism of Tchaikovsky is akin to the psychological revelations of Leo Tolstoy and Fedor Dostoyevsky.

In his oration dedicated to Pushkin, Dostoyevsky spoke of the amazing ability of the Russian artist to penetrate the spirit and style of another national culture, to formulate in his art themes of world-wide significance while remaining a national artist. This is entirely applicable to Russian music. Gannka brought back to life Spanish musical folklore and he, together with other composers, created striking musical images of the East. Tchaikovsky was one of the greatest Shakespeareologists in music. He produced the stupendous symphonic portrait of the Byronic hero. With a touch of inspiration, he embodied Dante's images.

The themes and problems set and brilliantly solved by Glinka, Tchaikovsky, Moussorgsky, and others in the new historic situation, in conditions of the war, unparalleled in the annals of humanity, are now posed and solved by the composers of the Soviet Union. To their lot has fallen tremendous work and world-wide historical responsibility. Works like the Seventh the Eighth Symphonies of Dmitri Shostakovich or Sergei Prokofyev's opera *War and Peace*, prove that Russian modern composers are worthily continuing traditions of their great musical ancestors.

B. SOLLERTINSKY.

New Recordings

INTEREST in the democratic heritage of American literature and music is reflected in timely albums just released by Victor and Keynote.

Ralph Bellamy's readings of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* emphasize the prophetic vision of our national poet. The selections are judicious, drawing appropriately on Whitman's volume of Civil War verse, *Drum-Taps;* his poems of internationalism, like "O Star of France" and "To a Foil'd European Revolutionaire"; and such stirring addresses to future generations as "So Long" and "Years of the Modern." No poet could boast so justly that his words would be a "battle call rousing to arms if need be, years, centuries hence." Whitman's lines range from declamation to hushed tenderness, and Mr. Bellamy reads these long, free lines with sympathy and restraint. The recordings tend to flatten out his voice in the lower registers; one would desire greater spontaneity and tonal variety. But one is grateful for the dignity with which Mr. Bellamy underscores the vibrant ideals of democracy's poet. (Victor M-955, four twelve-inch records, $4.50.)

Early American Ballads, collected and sung, with choral accompaniment, by John and Luck Allison, is a refreshing anthology of revolutionary and post-revolutionary folk materials. Outstanding events are delightfully chronicled in such jingles as "Ballad of the Tea Party" and "Ballad of Saratoga." The lyric mood prevails in "Nantucket Lullaby," and humorous fantasy in "Unfortunate Miss Baily," which celebrates the ghost of that unhappy maid who, having been seduced by a captain bold in Halifax, hanged herself one Monday in her garters. "Patriotic Diggers," one of the nation's first labor songs, proclaims the strength of the young republic.

Using guitars and accordion for instrumental background, these recordings avoid studied effects and convey the earthly flavor of American folk composition, its easy and fraternal singability, its aggressively democratic accent. (Keynote Album 102, three ten-inch records, $2.75.)

Outstanding single records of the month include: Haydn's overture to *L'Isola Disabitata* (*The Uninhabited Island*), played by the Indianapolis Symphony Orchestra, Fabien Sevitzky conducting. Haydn's operatic works have been overshadowed by his symphonies, but the composer himself was fond of his dramatic music, particularly *L'Isola Disabitata*, which he wrote in 1779. The animated orchestral rendition gives the listener an interesting link in operatic history and throws a new light on Haydn's range. (Victor 11-8487, $1.) Far more familiar is the overature to *Mignon*, which is presented by the NBC Symphony Orchestra under Arturo Toscanini in a fine performance which effectively communicates the graceful and melodic lyricism of the Ambroise Thomas composition. (Victor, 11-8545, $1.) Enesco's Rumanian Rhapsody No. 1, arranged for two pianos and played by Arthur Whittemore and Jack Lowe, gives these young artists, both now in the Navy, ample opportunity for ebullient interpretation and dexterity. The composition, built on the free treatment of authentic Rumanian themes, is familiar through symphonic recordings; the duo-piano version is lively and varied, rising to an exciting climax in the whirling *hora* dance passage. (Victor 11-8515, $1.)

S. S.

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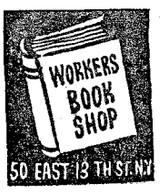

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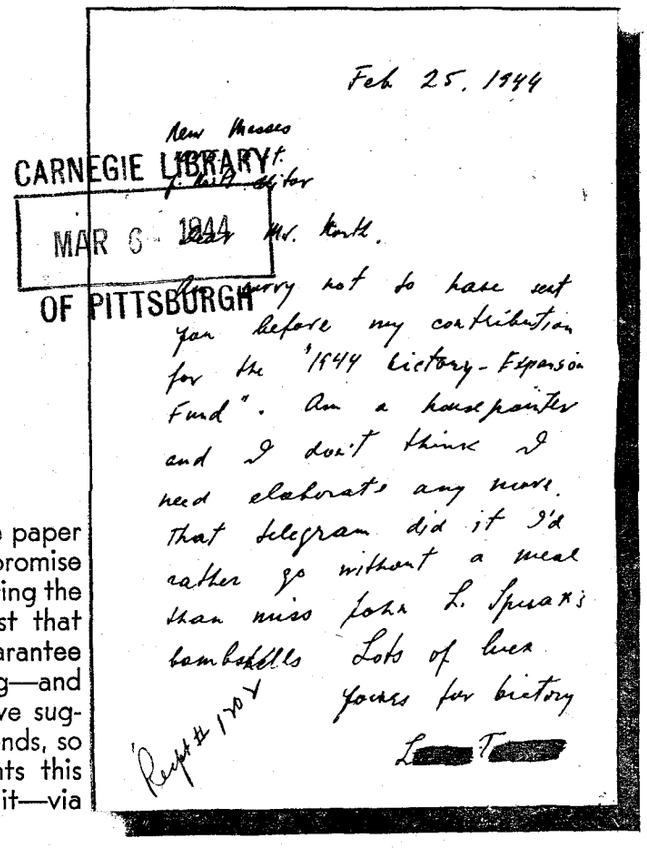
YOU CAN BANK ON SPIVAK

NM's readers will welcome the return of one of their favorite writers. He is the man who brought before them, and the nation, the first irrefutable facts on *native fascism. Recall his trail blazing exposes since 1934—of the native fascists* and anti-Semites, Silver Charlie Coughlin, the America First conspirators, the doings of the Black Legion, the Klan, the various hooded outfits. Spivak's name is anathema wherever men plot against their native country. His forthcoming series (more details next week) will begin shortly, and continues the invaluable work for which hundreds of thousands in America are grateful. This time he throws the spotlight on men and outfits that are plotting against the war and the peace, who work for a negotiated peace.

Below is a letter from a typical reader which indicates what NM'S public feel about Spivak:



Feb 25, 1944

New Masses

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OF PITTSBURGH

Mr. Kent.

Sorry not to have sent you before my contribution for the "1944 Victory-Expansion Fund". Am a housepainter and I don't think I need elaborate any more. That telegram did it I'd rather go without a meal than miss John L. Spivak's bombshells Lots of luck

Yours for victory

L. T.

Rec'd 1944

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